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*"They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."*

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THE DEFILEMENT OF CONSCIENCE.

Even their conscience is defiled.—Titus i. 15.

PERHAPS in no man have intellect and emotion been so closely intertwined as in St. Paul. Truly he was a chosen vessel prepared and set apart for his special work by God. As exact in argument as Aristotle, as lofty of imagination as Plato, he is as rich in impassioned utterance as Æschylus, and as withering in the heat of his denunciation as Demosthenes. And yet not one of these moods ever carries him in his writings beyond the range of self-possession. His well-balanced mind never sways too far, this way or that. His passion never gets the better of his reason, nor his intellect of his heart. Always reasoned, always lofty, his words pour along—argument flooded with emotion or feeling hemmed in by thought.

In the first section of his Epistle to Titus St. Paul is denouncing the doctrine and conduct of certain heretical teachers who were troubling the Christians of Crete. Fiery and impassioned the denunciation is, but it is not empty tirade. Rapid is the rush of the sentences. But it is not like the raid of some plundering horde over the border, far into the interior, and then as swiftly fleeing home to elude the gathering pursuit—irritating but fruitless. No, it is the swift unwavering march of a Roman army, prepared to meet any assault, making sure all behind it, garrisoning fortresses, building walls, laying down roads, so that each movement marks real conquest. The Apostle thus secures each point in his advance. In the midst of his denunciation he pauses to lay down the principles on which it is based. And thus it is that here in the midst of his fierce attack upon these heretics, we have formulated inspired truths, principles of conduct and thought, true in all ages for all men. "To the pure all things are pure, but to them that are defiled

and unbelieving is nothing pure; but even their mind and conscience is defiled." Thus our attention is drawn to the action of sin upon the conscience. "Even their conscience is defiled."

Into the questions of the origin and nature of the human conscience it is unnecessary here to enter. But without trenching too far upon debated ground, or concerning ourselves about philosophical niceties, we may perhaps assign to conscience, at least in St. Paul's sense of the word, the following functions: conscience acts as a moral reason; as a moral sentiment; as a moral judge. In other words the work of conscience is first to enable us to distinguish between right and wrong, secondly to prompt us to abhor that which is evil and cleave to that which is good, thirdly to approve or condemn us as we yield to or rebel against its prompting.

Conscience, then, acts as a moral reason. Just as reason has been given to man to enable him to distinguish between the true and the false, the wise and the foolish, so his conscience has been given him to enable him to distinguish between virtue and vice, the right and the wrong. And as this moral reason, its work is twofold. It has been called "Man's ideal within him." To borrow Browning's words:

> There is a vision in the heart of each
> Of justice, mercy, wisdom, tenderness
> To wrong and pain.

The faculty by which we catch through the mists of earth a glimpse of those beckoning forms, "standing out in Heaven crowned," and know them for what they are, regal, high, and pure,—that faculty is conscience. By it we fashion our *ideals* of goodness and honour and purity and truth.

But besides the general view of the good which it thus gives us, our ideal conscience should show us the right also in each particular case that may arise from day to day. Pressing onward up the rocky slopes of life, we need not only to see the general direction we must take towards the shining table-lands which crown its summit, but at each parting of the ways we require direction lest we turn away from our goal. It is for conscience not merely to point upward and say, There is the summit—reach it, but also at each fork where we might err, to cry, This is the way, walk ye in it. Like the promise of God, it should speak to us of the Canaan towards which we are ever to move; like the pillar of cloud it should go before us lest at any point our ignorance or folly should mislead us.

Conscience acts also as a moral sentiment. It is the feeling of the soul. It should fill us with love of good and hatred of evil. It has been given us to teach us respect for the laws of right and wrong; to thrill us with the sense of duty; to make self-indulgent or timid shrinking from our post contemptible; to allure us to all that is right, and repel us from all that is evil; to make goodness lovely to us and wrong-doing loathsome. It is conscience which causes us to love the true, because it is true, and the pure because it is pure. It is conscience which makes us shrink from sin and selfishness and all that is low and ignoble.

> If never fails our heart to greet
> Noble deed with warmer beat,
> If still within our heart we bear
> Love for all things good and fair,

it is because a pure conscience rules our heart.

Conscience acts also as a moral judge. As Tennyson says:—

> Man ever bears about
> A silent court of justice in his breast;
> Himself the judge and jury, and himself
> The prisoner at the bar.

An old philosopher compared conscience to the slave to whom in the families of Italy and Greece the child was committed for all training but that of the school. To this pedagogue it fell, though the child's servant, to instruct him in his duties, and if he failed to discharge them, to chastise him. The punishment conscience can inflict is the commonplace of poets. Who does not know that 'great drama of conscience', as it has been called, in which the greatest poet the world has ever produced has drawn in his *King Richard III.* the picture of the guilty man under the torture of

> The worm conscience that begnaws the soul.

But conscience also can approve, and, like many another hero and saint, St. Paul found in perplexities, troubles, griefs, disappointments, that next to the felt presence of God nothing could comfort like the knowledge that he served God "in good conscience."

But let us not make the common mistake of imagining that our consciences are the standard of right and wrong. No, the conscience is but the faculty God has given us to enable us to realise to ourselves this standard. It is not the standard itself, nor does it enable us to realise fully that standard. God has given us the wonderful natural organ of the eye, but the eye is not the vision seen, nor is the vision seen by one man's eye all that others see,

still less all that might be seen. Just so is it with conscience. There *is* an unwavering standard of right and wrong. In every moral question there *is* an absolute right, though we may differ as to what it is. Our consciences—the eyes of the soul, the reasons of the soul—will perhaps vary as much as our eyesights, or our abilities to unravel some complicated problem.

The ideal conscience would of course always see the whole truth, would always realise the real right; would always be in perfect unison with the standard of duty; would always prompt its possessor to follow that standard; would always strike in chastisement for the slightest swerve from the pursuit of this perfect good. But human consciences as we find them are not thus perfect. How often duties pass by unnoticed; how sadly low are our ideals; how slow we are to love the highest, how prone to cleave to that which is defiled; how dull our sense of wrong-doing often is. A man's conscience may not accuse him; but that does not prove that his life accords with the standard of right. St. Paul writes in that strange confession—though a proud claim, still a confession: "I know nothing against myself, yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord."

And thus though right and wrong are in themselves the same ever and everywhere, men's views of them differ. These differences may be partly due to natural differences of character. Low ideals and a sluggish conscience are as natural to a soft shallow pleasure-loving character as a keen sense of duty is to the strong and high-strung nature endued with an innate religiousness. These differences of conscience will also be partly due to the surroundings of our life. The conscience of Joshua could not be that of St. Paul nor that of a saint of to-day. Is it strange that the ideas of right and wrong of a forsaken street Arab of a city like London, or of the neglected pariah of an Indian village, should differ from those which the middle class Christian drinks in from his birth? How many must sadly make, each for himself, the confession of the old prayer taught us by Whittier:—

> Rich alone in favours lent,
> Virtuous by accident,
> Frailest where I seem the best,
> Only strong for lack of test.

These differences of conscience then are obvious and inevitable. Their existence should prevent any thinking man from an indolent resting in his own ideas of right and wrong as perfect, and should

lead him to carefully examine his own standards with a view to their correction. For consciences may be altered. Conscience is ever in process of formation. As long as we are on earth it must be subject to change. Partly instinctive perhaps, it yet owes much to outer influences and inner reflexion. And even an instinct may be dulled or altogether lost, or on the other hand cultivated and improved. That conscience can be educated our own lives will teach us, and the mention of slavery alone will suffice to show how not the least duty of history is to tell the story of the training of the conscience of nations and mankind. But if conscience may be educated, it is true, alas, that it may deteriorate. The influence of a good training may be flung off: reflexion may be avoided: instinctive love of right may be lost. New and evil influences may be brought to bear upon the conscience. If the sight of God could quicken that of Job or Isaiah, familiarity with evil dulled that of Borgia and Nero. And thus sin will defile it. Defilement itself, loathsome impurity itself, sin cannot fail to defile all that it touches. And a man's conscience—sensitive as the anther of a flower to every touch, receptive of every impression—takes and holds the smirch and foulness of his every sin. And as all the powers of a man decay when poison has tainted his blood, so in all the functions of the conscience on which sin has fallen does the pollution work. As leprosy eats out the strength of body, mind, and soul, leaving its victim "a leper with no power but his disease," so sin emasculates the conscience and weakens it for all its tasks.

Conscience we have seen is our moral reason, a guide of our life and action. Sin's touch taints it, and we lose our accuracy of vision. It distorts all our ideals. We content ourselves with truth less true and honour less honest and purity less pure. The eye of the soul on which once fell the visions of higher goodness and right and nobleness, now diseased, sees only forms, less far away, of earth-born qualities, and these misshapen or shapeless in the fogs it cannot pierce. Is it not thus that it has come to pass that even with the highest actions and thoughts of men so much that is evil has mingled? How else can we explain the conception of impure and cruel gods held by keen-witted Brahmans and Greeks? The cause can be found only in the defilement of their consciences. To what else is due the association with the worship of God of the licentious rites of Grecian shrines and many Indian festivals?

And as with our conception of right in general so with our view

of what is right in each particular case. Our blear vision cannot longer distinguish the shades of right and wrong, but sees good as evil, and evil as good. As prejudice may blind us to the reasonable, so sin will blind us to the right. Before our eyes the chart of life is blurred and we cannot trace our way. How true in this light is the old story of the Fall! Sin enters the heart of Eve in disbelief of God. But her conscience, thus defiled, no longer sees in disobedience evil, but an action worthy of praise. And so ever when sin has tainted his nature,

Man's eye is dim, he cannot see.

We saw next how conscience acts as a moral feeling. A man's sin ruins the action of his conscience in this function also. It is not only that our ability to see the right is impaired by sin, but also that our instinctive tendency to love the right is enfeebled too. Conscience after sin is more sluggish in its promptings to good, less alive to duty, more patient of the approach of evil. High ideals lose their winsomeness, lust and cruelty their loathsomeness. No longer has conscience the same quick sensibility. It has lost its sympathetic thrill with virtue and now answers rather to the note of vice. An old Buddhist story tells of the Buddha and the Princess Suvarna—how when she resisted his call to a life of devotion, he sent her a shape apparently so beauteous that she clasped it to her breast, to find when the light of day broke upon her, that her heart had loved and her arms embraced a loathsome corpse. A parable for us all—of duty neglected, of conscience dulled, till it sees beauty in corruption and loves that which is foul.

Such is the curse of sin,—sadder even than the blindness of conscience, the defilement of our moral reason,—that even when we see it we do not love the highest, but that our heart clings to the lower, preferring the colour of evil to the whiteness of the pure.

And as the moral judge our conscience is defiled by sin. The blight of disease falls upon it, and so the clear judicial mind wavers and is darkened. The mirror it holds up to the soul is blurred and each sin befouls it more—and the image of our life and character it throws back upon our eyes grows fainter and more faint.

One of the most awful results of sin is this paralysis of the conscience. Well indeed were it for us if it ever remained the same active keen judge, accusing us and condemning us for our later sins no less than for our first. But no, this cannot be. Sin brings herein its own punishment. Deeper and deeper do we fall, and our very fall prevents us from seeing that we are falling. John Bunyan in his

own wise way describes this experience. When Diabolus had captured Mansoul, he deposed Mr. Conscience the Recorder of the town. But since he would "occasionally burst forth with words like rattling thunder and also like thunder-claps," alarming the townsmen, Diabolus studied all that he could to debauch the old gentleman. By little and little he so drew him into wickedness and sin that "at last he was not only debauched as at first but was almost at last past all conscience of sin."

It is a familiar truth that organs by disuse cease to exist, that even the eye itself has been found wanting in certain cave-dwelling creatures. So is it with our consciences. As the darkness of sin grows around them, they lose the remembrance of the light, they lose their power to bear it. We have seen the limbs droop nerveless in the victim of tainted blood. So the wasting sickness of sin wears away the strength of the conscience; its filming eyes see no more the good and the evil, its weary brain no longer can think out the questions of right and wrong; its chastising hand rests useless and unmoved, and mortification spreads through the frame, now tainted and paralysed, but once the ever-thinking ever-active ally of the Most High God.

Such, then, is the defilement sin works upon the conscience, not merely outward like some ceremonial uncleanness unwittingly incurred, but as if in some plague-stricken city some human fiend whose touch was death should pass amongst the townsmen exulting to cast contagion upon them, the contagion which meant the eating out of their life, the murder of their powers. *Even their conscience is defiled*—woe for all that is meant by defilement there—reason gone, visions of good lost, admiration for the pure swallowed up in love of the foul, judgment debauched, the strength to chastise paralysed—all stricken by the contamination, and all, unless divine help be given, stricken to the death.

Nor need the sin be gross or long-continued to cause such defilement and disease. Often has one sin been sufficient to taint the life. Every sin is foul, and therefore every sin defiles the conscience. A single pebble is sometimes enough to turn the course of a stream. One jet of poison may be sufficient to taint all its waters. Each little unregarded sin lowers our ideals, dulls our power of decision between right and wrong, saps our love of virtue, blunts the judgment of our conscience upon our words and thoughts and deeds.

We have already seen that our consciences may be far from the true standards of right and wrong, and yet we must follow them.

The first step to improvement will be the knowledge of where our conscience fails. Some of us perhaps have even after sin been accustomed to look to no other source for guidance. We have never thought of doubting its correctness. And yet perhaps it is all tainted with sin. Whole nations in the past have sat in smug content, defiled, defaced, and crime-stained, because their conscience unknown to them was defiled. Look at America hugging her slavery, at France in her lust of glory; and we should have less to blush for had Britain sometimes known her conscience was defiled. And as one looks round in this country and sees idolatry and immorality so prevalent, one can only say defilement has passed upon the conscience of India. India needs its John the Baptist to call it to holiness and righteousness of life, to rouse it to repentance as he did Judea, to break the spiritual pride of its Pharisees, to nerve its publicans to a better life, to prepare the way of the Lord. What task so high, what life so to be desired, what reward so great as his who shall do this work? And if this high privilege be not for you, yet always whatever be your life-work bear in mind the part you are called to play in enlightening, purging, raising the conscience of this our land. Be no deed done, no word spoken, no thought harboured even, that shall make this work harder or delay its achievement. All whose consciences have been enlightened, who have learnt to see and love the right, who have higher standards than the masses round about, stand as lights in a benighted land. See that no sin dim your light.

As with nations, so with individuals. The conscience of many is defiled, but they know it not. St. Paul's words suggest three tests by which we may try our conscience and see whether the disease of sin has defiled it.

The first is the test of our ideals. What are they? How high is our ideal of purity, of goodness, of love? The purer our conscience, the brighter are these heavenly visions. But the defiled conscience sees nothing, knows nothing, believes nothing of these glimpses of better things which at times are given to those who, like Bunyan's Pilgrims upon the Delectable Mountains, have turned their faces towards the home of God. But he who, forgetful of God and of duty, has given his love to sin and self has lost these sights of brightness and is

> As one who, turning from the light,
> Watches his own grey shadow fall,
> Doubting, upon his path of night,
> If there be day at all.

But to the undefiled, undiseased conscience goodness and duty and truth are real and reverend yet dear. So our conscience may be tested by our ideals. Are they distortions like a drunkard's nightmare—the creations of a defiled conscience; or like the very face of God?

The second test we are taught here to apply is the light in which we view men around us. "To the pure all things are pure." A lofty faith in humanity is an evidence of a pure conscience. Never to see good in another is a sure token of its impurity. It is only of unchaste Charles II. that it could be said, "He regarded Virtue as a trick by which clever hypocrites imposed on fools. Honour among men seemed to him as mere a pretence as chastity among women." It is of the carnal Vivien that our wise Tennyson gives us this picture:—

> She let her tongue
> Rage like a fire amongst the noblest names,
> Polluting and imputing her whole self.
> Defaming and defacing till she left
> Not even Lancelot brave, nor Galahad pure.

And so each who holds none noble and good, will do wisely to see in this experience no sign of his superiority or of universal failure, but the proof that an impure conscience is at work, polluting and imputing its whole self. But if this lesson be not yet got by heart, let him to whom no man is pure learn from the same poet's marvellous *Vision of Sin* how such cynicism is the offspring of impurity and evil.

The third test is one which goes even deeper. *Unto the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled is nothing pure.* All our surroundings are aids on the way to heaven or to hell. To the pure everything is a source of purity. What, then, to us are our friendships, our companionships, the sights and sounds of nature, our bodies, our minds? Do they all suggest sin, are they all instruments of sin? And who is there whose life can stand this test? Who can say, To me all things have ever been pure. I have ever found in all things a means of good, and never a means of evil?

If pressed home these tests would for all of us reveal the defilement of our conscience by sin. What, then, remains for us to do? The *great test* I have not referred to, for it is also one of the remedies of the disease itself reveals. For Christ is the healer as well as the revealer, and his revelations, moreover, are not of wrong only, but also of the perfect Good. The Light of the World, it is true,

brings the knowledge of the darkness, but in Him also we see what Light is.

Christ's conscience, then, was a perfect conscience. The ideal conscience so different from ours I find here. And by it man can test his own. How defiled, how sluggish, how blind. But the revelation is a blessed one. For he sees now not his defects only but also the pattern which his conscience is to follow. *There* is the bright example, *there* the conscience by which each man may set his own. He may learn in *his* school. He should be content with nothing lower than the ideals of Jesus, should study to love duty and purity and truth as he did, and to be, like him, the ever obedient servant of God.

But man will say, I am diseased—my conscience is tainted. You are prescribing for me as if I were sound, or as if I were recovered. I am death-stricken and you are telling me how to act when I am well again. Tell me rather how I am to drive the virus from my blood, how to turn back the mortification and free me from my disease. Yes, how *can* the sin-stained conscience be made clean; how *can* past sins be covered; how can the power of inveterate disease be broken; how can our nature be formed anew? But Jesus is not only the test of our conscience but the cleanser of the conscience. For the soul that casts itself in faith in his atonement upon Christ, he ever heals. And in the life of each who takes Christ as his Lord and Saviour this is revealed, that "the blood of Christ, who through the eternal spirit offered himself without spot to God, can purge the conscience from dead works to serve the living God."

F. W. KELLETT.

THE SANTALS :—II.

THE descendants of Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi lived many years in the Siri forest, where they grew and multiplied. From this they removed to Haradata, and then to Khojkaman, where, it is said, they were divided into groups or tribes named after the seven sons of Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Budhi. These groups are as follows :—(1) Kisku, (2) Murmu, (3) Hembrom, (4) Soren, (5) Hasdak, (6) Marndi, and (7) Tudu. At a later period other five were added, *viz.*, (8) Baske, (9) Besra, (10) Pauria, (11) Chore, and (12) a group which does not now exist.

There is a legend connected with their residence in Khojkaman

which is interesting, if only as showing the ingenuity with which the Santals have sought a reason for a fact for which they are otherwise unable to account, *viz.*, that one of their sub-tribes is named *Chilbindhu, or the vulture-slayer.* While in Khojkaman the Santal mothers, as is still their custom, used to lay their infants in the sun for the purpose of developing a healthy colour of the skin. The region in which they dwelt was infested by a pair of vultures of huge size; and they, preferring the flesh of children to carrion, lost no opportunity of carrying off the innocents whom the fond mothers, in their desire to see their offspring take on the national hue, had laid to bask in the sun. The depredations of these birds became at length so serious as to threaten the continuance of the race, and the fathers of the community, after a lengthened consultation, determined to attempt their destruction. They traced them to the Siri forest, where they found their nest in a *sohoda* tree, and the female sitting in it. The nest was so compactly constructed that no opening could be found through which to shoot the bird. Among the various materials, mostly agricultural implements, with which the nest was built, was an *argom*, or clod crusher, through a hole in which the bird could be seen. It was decided to try to shoot her through this hole, and two brothers named Kara and Guja, the most skilful bowmen of the tribe, were selected for the purpose. Kara, the elder brother, standing with one foot on an ant hill, took careful aim, and the shaft pierced the breast of the vulture through the hole in the *argom*. She flew out of her nest, but having received a mortal wound, fell lifeless to the earth, and in the place where she fell a lake appeared, which in after years bore the name of Ganga Jauni.*

Having thus rid the country of this pest the men turned their faces homewards, beating the jungle for game as they went along. A Murmu deer (*nilgai*) was started, and brought down by a well aimed arrow. It was slung upon a sapling cut from the forest, and carried to the top of the village street. The hunters, being tired, sat down to rest awhile before proceeding to flay and cut up the *nilgai*. Then one man was sent to bring a knife, another was appointed to flay the animal, another to cut it up, another to wrap the flesh in leaves preparatory to its being roasted in the ashes, and another to bring fire. The Santals are accustomed to wrap up their

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* The idea seems to be that the vulture fell to the ground with such force as to create a huge depression, which eventually filling with water became a lake.

superfluous clothing in leaves to keep it dry, when overtaken by a storm on a hunting expedition. On this occasion rain had fallen, and it would appear that the sole garment possessed by the man whose duty it was to wrap the meat in leaves was the *bhagwa,* or *kopi,* or *langoti,* as it is variously named. This he had carefully encased in leaves and deposited on the ground near by. By mistake he put the parcel containing the *bhagwa* among the ashes to roast instead of one containing meat, and having prepared leaf plates on which to place it, fished it out of the fire, thinking it would be sufficiently cooked. On removing the burnt leaves, instead of the venison, which the hungry hunters expected to see, only the charred remains of the man's clothing were found. The others abused him for his negligence, saying, "We desired you to roast meat, and you have given us your *bhagwa.*" The descendants of this man became known as Lat Tudu.

After a considerable stay in Khojkaman they removed to Chae, and from there to Champa. Their residence in Champa was a prolonged one, and here their social institutions shaped themselves, and their tribal distinctions took their rise. Kisku became the royal tribe, and was known as Kisku Raj; the Murmus became the princely tribe, and were named Murmu Thakur; the Hembrom were ennobled, and became Hembrom Kuar; the Soren became soldiers, and were named Soren Sipahi; the Marndi tribe were appointed the king's treasurers and stewards, and named Marndi Kipisar; the Tudus adopted music as their profession, and received the title of Tudu Mandaria. There is no record of the offices or titles conferred upon the other tribes preserved in the appellations they bear at the present day, but tradition records that the Baske group or tribe were merchants and traders.

The Santals would seem to have occupied the district of Champa during a long period, and tradition fondly reverts again and again to the years passed there as being the "good old time," when they lived under the mild rule of kings of their own race, and attained a high degree of comfort and prosperity. In these good old days there were no forest laws, no grasping alien zemindars, ever striving to wring a few pice more from the groaning ryot as rent, no money lenders living upon the fat of the land, no courts nor bailiffs ready to strip the peasant of all his worldly possessions to satisfy the extortionate demands of village *mahajans.* Everywhere peace and plenty filled the land, and the old men spent their days in legislating for the good of the community, the young men in

breaking in cattle to the yoke, and the young women in dancing and merriment. They built many forts, among which were Fort Koenda, the residence of the royal house of Kisku; Fort Champa, the stronghold of the princely house of Murmu; Fort Badodi, the treasure house of the Marndi Kipisar; and Fort Khaira, which probably belonged to the noble house of Hembrom.

There is a legend regarding the office conferred upon the Marndi tribe which some believe to be connected with Noah's flood, thus giving it an interest it might not otherwise possess.

It is said that at the time when the social distinctions and offices were conferred upon the various tribes, no representative of the Marndi tribe was present. When Ambir Sing and Bir Sing, who were the leaders of this tribe, heard what had taken place, they were greatly incensed at having been overlooked, and called down fire from heaven which destroyed half of the world, and half of its population. They themselves lived in a cave in Mount Here, and were shut in by a stone door, and so they escaped unscathed. Intelligence of this catastrophe reaching Kisku Raj, he enquired who had done it, and was informed that it was the work of Ambir Sing and Bir Sing. He commanded them to be brought before him, and asked why they had brought such a calamity upon the land. They replied, "Our tribe was slighted in that no distinction was conferred upon it." The king said, "It shall not remain so. You also shall have an important office. I appoint you stewards to all the kings, princes, and nobles. All the rice, husked and unhusked, shall be in your keeping, and every member of their households shall receive his daily allowance of food from your hands." The Marndi tribe from that time became Marndi Kipisar.

Another tradition has it that Thakur Jiu rained fire from heaven as a punishment for the sins of the people, and only two persons, a man and a woman, escaped by taking refuge in a cave. This latter version, in my opinion, owes much to the teaching of Christian missionaries.

About this time the chief of the house of Kisku took to himself a concubine named Sabnaera, who is said to have been a Birhor. She bore a son, who at his birth resembled a huge *madhhas,* or wild goose, and was accordingly named Madho Sing. He was brought up in the chief's house, and was afterwards employed in collecting revenue. He occupied a prominent and influential position in the State, which was accentuated by the golden umbrella which he carried to protect himself from the heat of the sun when

out collecting rents in the villages. One day he was accosted by two men whose names were Bhat and Purhut, who said to him, "Why do you work so hard when you have only yourself to provide for? Why do you not get married?" He replied, "I am not of the same blood as they are, and no one will give me his daughter." On receiving this reply they undertook to speak to Kisku Raj and procure his assent to Madho Sing's marrying a Santal maiden. They therefore on the first favourable opportunity broached the subject of Madho Sing's marriage to several members of the house of Kisku. But the proposal was rejected with disdain, and the two men were roughly handled for having dared to suggest the union of a daughter of the house of Kisku with Madho Sing, who had Birhor blood in his veins. They resented the indignity to which they had been subjected by the infuriated Kiskus, and plotted revenge. While brooding over their disgrace they met Madho Sing, and informed him of the result of their interview with the Kiskus, and how they themselves had been treated. They advised him to take the matter into his own hands and forcibly marry (*itut**) the girl of his choice.

When it became known to the Santals that Bhat and Purhut had counselled Madho Sing to forcibly marry one of their maidens, and that he was only awaiting a suitable occasion to do so, they consulted together as to the course they should adopt to preserve the integrity of their marriage laws. After considerable discussion they decided to flee the country altogether, for, said they, "We are one people, and Madho Sing belongs to another people. We cannot agree to give him one of our daughters, as it is against our custom to intermarry with other castes." So they made carts having the axles all of one width, and loading them with as much of their household goods as they would hold, they decamped during the night. Some of them, however, had a greater regard for their property than for their honour, and they said, "Our lives will not be taken, only our caste will be broken, and what is that when compared with all this wealth which we must leave behind?" Those who remained, rather than forsake their goods and chattels, were afterwards known as Bedya Santals.

Another version of this legend is that in the service of the royal house of Kisku were a number of Birhor families, whose duty it

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* *Itut* is a form of marriage among the Santals in which a man forcibly weds a woman by simply marking her on the forehead with red lead.

was to provide ropes with which to tether the elephants and cattle belonging to the king. On a certain day they failed to deliver the usual supply, with the result that the elephants and cattle broke loose during the night and destroyed several fields of grain. In the morning when the Birhors heard what had occurred they dreaded the king's anger, and packing up their goods and chattels fled from the place. When the Santal king was informed of the damage done to his crops and the disappearance of the Birhors, he ordered an immediate pursuit, and buckling on his sword himself took command of the pursuing party. During the flight a Birhor woman gave birth to a child, but such was the fear which inspired the runaways, that lest it should impede their movements the child was simply covered with a few large leaves, and left by the roadside to its fate. The pursuers on coming up heard its cries, and rescued it from certain death. The king, having relinquished all hope of being able to overtake the fugitives, gave up the pursuit, and returned home bringing the foundling with him. The boy was reared in the king's house and received the name of Madho Sing.

Madho Sing when he grew up showed so much talent that the king appointed him to collect the revenue. Having been so highly favoured by the king he became presumptuous, and aspired to the hand of one of the princesses. He threatened that should his suit be rejected, he would avail himself of the privilege given to him by the Santal marriage laws and forcibly marry the young lady. At the durbar which assembled to consider the matter the Santals decided that as Madho Sing was a Birhor he could not intermarry with them. They admitted that he could forcibly wed their king's daughter if he were so minded, and to avoid the disgrace they resolved, at the suggestion of the Marndi tribe, to flee the country altogether. After a hurried preparation they decamped during the night, and Madho Sing was left in possession of the kingdom.

The first obstruction to their flight which the fugitives encountered was the Sing door. It was of solid stone, and as they could neither force it open nor break it they began to weep. At this juncture they were accosted by Julum Paika and Kapi Karan, who said, "Call upon the *bongas*, and we will soon break open the stone door with our bows, and clear a passage for you." Being in great fear lest Madho Sing should overtake them they were compelled to seek aid from these strange gods, and Julum Paika and Kapi Karan each struck the massive stone door with the sharp end of his bow, and shivered it into a thousand pieces. The whole host passed

through, and in a short time reached the Bahi door, which was also of stone. As with the Sing door, so with this, they could neither force it open nor break it. Here they were met by Ulum Paika and Bhalwai Bijai, who said, "Call upon the *bongas*, and we will make a way for you." It was easier a second time to look for deliverance to strange gods, so they did as they were advised, and Ulum Paika and Bhalwai Bijai struck the Bahi door with their bows with such force as to break it to pieces. They were here instructed by Ulum Paika and Bhalwai Bijai to offer sacrifices to the *bongas*. They sacrificed a black fowl to Marang Buru, and a brown one to Jahera, and cut ox-hides into strips, which they hung on the bushes along their line of march. They also marked stones with *sindur*, or red lead, as they proceeded.

Madho Sing was very wroth when he knew the Santals had outwitted him, and seizing his battle-axe, and taking his sword under his arm, went in pursuit. Passing through the Sing door and the Bahi door he observed the strips of ox-hide on the bushes, and the signs of *bonga* worship in the *sindur* on the stones by the way side. He then said, "These people have apostatised, I shall leave them to themselves and return home."

A. Campbell.

HOBBES: THE FATHER OF ENGLISH ETHICS.

Locke is usually called the Father of English philosophy: but in several respects Hobbes deserves that title better; and, but for certain of his extreme views, which roused at the time a strong feeling of revulsion against his very name, he would have been unanimously voted to that place of honour. For not only was he one of the few great original-minded system-builders of Europe, to be named with Aristotle, Hegel, and Spencer, but his speculations were, in every department, marked by that rare kind of vitality which enables them to persist through conditions the most unfavourable, and to extend their influence to all subsequent lines of thought. Among the doctrines of psychology or philosophy proper that have since been held by the empirical school, there are few that do not have their prototypes in the pointed, pithy utterances of the philosopher of Malmesbury. However that may be, Hobbes' position at the head of English ethics is unquestionable. All modern

ethical speculations spring more or less from him, either through opposition to his dogmas, or through assimilation of his principles. The earlier intellectual moralists indicate their indebtedness, no less than their aim, in the very titles of their works,—most of them being explicitly *contra Hobbium Instituta*. The sentimental school, though less openly antagonistic, is but another eddy in the same reaction current round the rock of Hobbes. Utilitarianism, old or new, has in him its very backbone. The latest specimen of the system, as taught by its most revered living representative, Dr. Bain, is a strange reversion to the prototype itself. Indispensable, therefore, is a knowledge of Hobbes for a correct understanding not only of the history of ethics but also of the very questions now generally discussed under the head of ethical theory.

Nor is it hard to master Hobbes. His principles are few and his exposition bold and transparent. Here is his answer to the question of the ultimate end of human action, stated without the least prevarication, or ambiguous references to 'happiness', 'welfare', and so forth. One's *own* pleasure is the only 'good' to the individual, and one's *own* pain the only evil. And there is no motive whatever in man but the pursuit of the one and the avoidance of the other. This is the now famous primary law of volition, and this, too, the common basis of all hedonism. The next question—and the more difficult one—is, How are we to get the pursuit of 'right' out of the pursuit of pleasure, and the avoidance of 'wrong' from the avoidance of pain? The mechanism used by Hobbes for this transformation is memorable, as it still continues to be the last resort, in one form or other, for all thinkers of the hedonistic school. He makes it further interesting by investing it in a political fiction. The natural equality of man and his equally natural and unlimited craving to have as much of good and as little of evil as possible set every man at the beginning against his brother. In the state of nature, every man, says Hobbes, rather picturesquely, was a wolf to his fellow-man. An endless internecine war was thus inevitable, rendering enjoyment impossible and life itself precarious. Being a far-sighted animal, however, (not sufficiently far-sighted if the sequel be true) man sees that this state of perpetual strife is good for none, and feels inclined accordingly "to seek peace and to ensue it, if possible." One fine morning, and in a pleasant meadow, the weary wolves assemble and agree among themselves (it is not told who kept the peace while deliberations were going on) to surrender

each his natural right to all things, provided the rest would do the same. The contract is at once struck, and each man in the company faithfully relegates his unlimited right to all things—not to one among themselves, for that would revive the apple of discord, even should the terms of the agreement permit such a course—but to some happy individual outside the camp, who is forthwith hailed by all as sovereign master. Hobbes' sovereign is thus irresponsible, not being a party to the contract, which only binds his people as among themselves and to their sovereign. From the establishment of a sovereign authority dates the birth of society and the end, too, of the original state of nature. The sovereign who now alone possesses every right to everything, even to the extent of taking away the life of any of his subjects, governs the society according to the best of his ability, and issues, for the purpose, from time to time, certain mandates, which, supported by the penalties annexed thereunto, constitute for his people law, morals, and religion. The fear of punishment is the beginning of morality. It is the germ of conscience, it is the final meaning of duty and of moral obligation. Man, who naturally avoids pain, is said to eschew the *wrong* when he avoids the particular pain of punishment, and he is said to do what is *right*, when, in his natural craving for pleasure, he gives up what is declared penal, and does what may coincide with the courses recommended or rewarded by the State. Moral wrong, therefore, is a particular kind of pain, and moral right, a particular kind of pleasure.

Such in brief is Hobbes' main ethical position. Putting aside the political fiction, which went not a little to aggravate his unpopularity, we need scarcely point out that Hobbes fails in this account to touch the heart of the moral problem. Civil obedience, into which he resolves all morals, must be itself due either to the binding force of the original contract, or to the fear of punishment by which it is now enforced. The first supposition, besides obviously making too much of the prehistoric wolves that were the original contracting parties, is inconsistent with the theory itself, inasmuch as it presumes a moral nature in man independent of and antecedent to the institution of society. The second alternative, though still a favourite hypothesis, loses sight of the essential internal character of morality. Fear of control might control external appearances, but would leave unaffected our thoughts, intentions, and wishes.

Hobbes was himself more than aware of such objections to his

view, and the way in which he forestalls them is not the least interesting or remarkable feature of his system. He recognises certain laws of nature as well as laws of State. A law of nature, he defines as the dictate of right reason, and he concedes that it is always obligatory in the court of conscience. He declares it on that account to be 'eternal and immutable'. It is obedience to the laws of nature, which, according to him, requires but a steady effort of mind, that makes the just or righteous man. Arguing in this way Hobbes arrives at his conclusion, and tells us that "a just man may be called one who does just acts in obedience to the law—unjust only from infirmity: an unjust man, one who does just acts from dread of punishment affixed to the law—unjust acts from the iniquity of his mind." Thus does he attempt to anticipate and obviate the objections to his view. A distinction is drawn between an eternal and immutable, natural, or internal code of morality, and a changing civil, or external code.

But the distinction leads only to a further embarrassment. Which of the codes—the internal or external— is to have superior authority when they run counter to each other, as they might easily do—particularly with Hobbes' type of irresponsible autocracy? Obviously, it must be the internal, which is styled the 'eternal and immutable'. Hobbes is never weary of telling us that the laws of nature are for ever binding upon conscience, and that an act done according to civil law may be in fact a transgression of it, whenever the intention is contrary. No action that is against reason, though ever so often repeated, and possessing in consequence all the force of custom and prescription, can ever cease to be against conscience and the law of nature. Nay, Hobbes more than once indicates that it is to establish what is right in nature, right according to reason, that civil society is itself called into being, with all its despotic powers of legislation. Well and good. What, however, is the effect of all this eloquent homily on Hobbes' own theory of complete obedience to the sovereign? What becomes of his identification of good with plain pleasure? What again, of his analysis of moral obligation into the fear of the constabulary? The whole of his moral philosophy evolved from the political fiction would appear thus to dissolve into a horrid nightmare, with the dawn of this vision of right reason.

Not so, however did it appear to Hobbes. He suddenly turns round and tells us that it is not required of man to observe the laws of Nature, *when others do not.* If then, it is asked, what

is meant by saying that the laws of nature are *eternally* binding upon conscience, the answer is as simple as it is disappointing. "Yes! it is binding upon *conscience,* that is, in *thoughts,* not in *acts.* The internal code is *internally* obligatory not externally. There ought always to be a constant desire and readiness to observe the internal law, but actual practice of it is conditioned on its being also the external." This is nothing short of a quibble, on a par with Hobbes' explanation of conscience as that which two or more persons know together! The moral law, or the law of nature, is thus denied all practical significance. It is to be wholly superseded in practice by the law of the State. This is the see-saw of Hobbes. He tells us that certain dictates of reason are eternally binding upon us, and in the same breath adds that we are never to put them into practice *unless others are prepared to do the same.* He tells us again that the State is created to enforce the laws of nature, and in the same breath that we are required to follow blindly the behests of the State, without being at liberty even so much as to inquire how far the Government of the times performs, or is suited to perform, the one main function for which it has been called into existence. Such is the intrinsic contradiction in Hobbes' system, and it is a sign as much of its author's strength as of his weakness. That in spite of so many inveterate tendencies in him to the contrary Hobbes was able to see in the midst of the chaotic mass of physiological excitations that did duty with him for mental phenomena that there is such a thing as right reason, that this right reason is competent to announce certain categorical dictates, binding man for ever in *foro interno,* and that both society and State exist to enable each individual to realize, as far as it may be possible in any given age, the moral ideal so presented by reason, furnishes, indeed, remarkable evidence at once of the clearness of his intellect and the truth of the facts to which in spite of himself he stands witness. His narrow conception of the motive powers of man, his failure to recognize any other end of life except self-preservation and pleasure, and his overwhelming apprehensions as to the stability of society, founded no less on the historical circumstances of his age than on his own inborn* timid disposition, led him, on the other hand to conclusions respecting the inter-relation of morality and legislation, as astounding as

* Hobbes use to say that he and fear were born twins, his mother through fright having prematurely given birth to him during the excitement of the civil wars.

untrue. But for the phantasies of a materialistic psychology resulting in hedonism, and the hobbies of a foregone system of politics ending in despotism, his clear grasp of facts and his no less clear logical acumen would have enabled him to perceive that all that his premises demanded was that the internal code, or the laws of nature, formed a sort of absolute morals, that the Government statutes of the day represented the relative morals, or so much of the absolute ethics as were within the reach of the average individual of the State, and that the duty of the individual, as well as of the State, was to lift up the relative as near to the absolute as the conditions of the times would permit. But absurdity, said he himself, is a peculiar privilege of man.*

P. SUNDARAM PILLAI.

KINGSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA:—I.

THE civilisation of the Hindus is one of the most ancient in the world, and in comparatively early times the people of India had made considerable progress in many of the arts of civilised life and in almost all the departments of human activity and thought. It would be interesting, therefore, to determine the nature of the political system that prevailed in ancient India. To what extent did the Hindus succeed in developing the art of government, and what political institutions did they possess? It is not my present purpose, however, to answer these important questions. I propose to deal only with that portion of the primitive Hindu constitution which relates to the subject of kingship.

For this enquiry there is fortunately no lack of materials. The Veda, it is true, has not as yet been made to yield much information on the subject; and even Romesh Chunder Dutt, the latest historian of Ancient India, admits without hesitation that "it is perhaps impossible to conjecture the sort of government which obtained in those olden days."[1] All the other works, however, which we might naturally expect to give us some account of primitive government in India, justify our expectation and furnish really useful materials. The *Mahabharata* has a long discourse on 'Rajadharma',

* Written in December 1885.

[1] *Ancient India*, Vol. I. p. 47.

or the 'duties of kings', extending over numerous cantos and covering the larger portion of the Santiparva. The *Sukranitisara,* or the 'essence of polity', is a treatise on government from the beginning to the end, and is the most comprehensive work extant on the subject. The *Dharmasutras* of Apastambha and Gautama, and those of Vasishtha and Baudhayana, which have been published as Volumes II. and XIV., respectively, of the Sacred Books of the East, treat of the duties of Hindus as citizens, and accordingly supply us with valuable information on kingship, the duties incidental to the office, and the responsibilities attached thereto. According to Max Müller,[2] the Sutra period extends from B.C. 600 to B.C. 200. Within this period probably lived Chanakya, the political system expounded by whom has won for him the unenviable title of 'the Indian Machiavel',[3] and who, with all the wiles and stratagems of which his fruitful mind was capable, appears as a character, later on, in the play of *Mudrarakshasa,*[4] one of the few political dramas that Sanskrit literature possesses. His work, known as *Chanakyaniti,* is not easily accessible; but the writings of his pupil and follower Kamandaka so clearly bear the impress of his teachings that from the works of the disciple we can form our opinion as to the character of the master's political principles. The next work we have to notice is the celebrated *Manavadharmasastra* or the *Institutes of Manu*—a code of laws which, since the publication of Sir W. Jones's translation, has been very popular in the West, and which until recent times constituted, to the English historians of India, the only source of information respecting ancient Hindu government. Of the twelve chapters of Manu, three,[5] containing more than a third of the whole number of verses in the book, are devoted to an exposition of regal duties and to an account of civil and criminal administration. Of works such as *Manavadharmasastra, Yajnavalkyasmriti,* and *Parasarasmriti,* the originals of which were furnished by the *Dharmasutras,* Manu's book is admittedly the earliest.[6] The later codes throw comparatively little light on government and political organisation. In support

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[2] Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II. Introduction, p. xviii.

[3] Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's Edition of Kamandaka's *Nitisara.* Calcutta, 1861. Preface, p. i.

[4] Dr. Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus,* Vol. II. p. 155.

[5] The three chapters are the 7th, 8th, and 9th.

[6] Dr. Bühler's *Laws of Manu.* Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV. Introduction p. civ.

of this assertion, it is not necessary to state anything more than that Parasara, whose work is specially intended for this age or Kaliyuga, sums up the duties of the kingly race (Kshatriyas) in two verses,[7] and that the passage in Yajnavalkya on Rajadharma consisting of about sixty couplets[8] is just a summary of the long chapter on 'King' in Manu. In his Acharakanda, Parasara lays down the rule that having destroyed the forces of the enemy a Kshatriya should, weapon in hand, govern his kingdom justly, pleasing his subjects and enforcing discipline. He adds that a Kshatriya should tax his subjects lightly and not cut up their root, like the maker of garlands who, in a garden, plucks only the flowers and does not destroy the trees. His behaviour towards his people should be unlike that of a manufacturer of charcoal towards trees. This is all that can be gathered on the principles of government from what is *par excellence* a *smriti* designed for the guidance of mankind, in this fourth period of the world's existence.[9] From the last few statements it must be manifest that for a knowledge of ancient government in India we need not consult any writer later than Manu. Since his time there has been little or no change in the conceptions of the people regarding government, and the hold of his code upon their minds is still very strong.

Are the several authorities on polity, of whom mention has been made, reliable? Are we justified in searching in them for a true account of the primitive Hindu constitution? Do they, in fact, furnish us with proper materials for building up a trustworthy history of the kind of government that obtained in India in early times? These are, indeed, pertinent questions, when the authorities concerned are Indian authorites, for it has been observed that[10] "from the very earliest ages down to the present times the Hindu mind seems never to have conceived such an idea as an authentic record of past facts based on evidence." We shall, nevertheless, answer the questions raised above in the affirmative; but before giving this answer, it is necessary to state clearly our reasons for so doing. It is true, as the above quotation implies, that no authentic annals of the ancient Hindus have come down to us. Nor should we hesitate

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7 *Parasarasmriti*, Acharakanda, verses 59 and 60.

8 *Yajnavalkyasmriti*, Acharakanda, verses 307-367.

9 *Parasarasmriti*, Acharakanda, verse 24.

10 Ascribed by Dr. Murdoch of Madras to the Cambridge Professor of Sanskrit. Vide Dr. Murdoch's *Is India becoming Richer or Poorer?*

to admit that there never was any attempt, at all events any conscious attempt, to preserve carefully written records of the life and doings of the Hindus of old. But the very fact that political ideas and metaphysical conceptions were not yet the subjects of conscious observation justifies us in relying upon pictures of the early Hindu constitution, presented in their works by the authors of a bygone age, who wrote under no philosophical or theological influences.[11] The writings of these authors may be marred here and there by some exaggerations; but gross misrepresentation is not their main feature or characteristic. Neither can the fact that the information contained in them is set forth in the form of rules detract in any degree from their value. No doubt the authors in question always state what the king *ought to do*, and never describe to us what he *actually did*. That they were not, however, mere theorists, but that the ideas worked out by them were carried into practice by kings and responsible officers, is not only apparent from various Sanskrit dramas and tales, but is proved by the testimony[12] of Chinese and Greek writers, who lived in this country and studied its institutions.

Having thus established the usefulness and credibility of these authorities for purposes of historical investigation and research, we shall next proceed to make use of them. At the outset it ought to be pointed out that for our purpose it is neither necessary nor possible to lay under contribution all the works that have been alluded to. In the first place they are not independent of one another. Secondly, it is almost a hopeless undertaking to determine the order in which they ought to be consulted. The *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, the *Dharmasutras*, the *Kamandakiyaniti*, the *Sukranitisara*, and the *Manavadharmasastra* are undoubtedly all rich storehouses of information; but in the present state of Indian chronology it is impossible to say in what order they ought to be consulted. To go into this question here is altogether beyond the scope of this paper. We shall, therefore, on the authority of eminent scholars and critics, have to content ourselves with assigning to each of these works the approximate period to which it belongs. And, since it is useless to consult all these works, I shall accordingly chiefly rely for my information on Hindu government upon the *Sukranitisara* and the *Manavadharmasastra*. These two works are separated by a con-

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[11] Cf. Sir H. S. Maine's *Ancient Law*, pp. 2 and 3.

[12] Cf. Dutt's *Ancient India*, Vol III. p. 175.

siderable interval of time—perhaps several centuries. The one gives us an insight into the political condition of the Hindus immediately after the epic ages, when the Brahmans had not yet completely brought the Kshatriyas under their sway: the other presents us with a picture of Hindu government as it was after the Brahmans had gained the upper hand in society. In the former[13] the highest moral duty inculcated is governing the people well and chastising the wicked. In the latter[14] is added to this doing service to the Brahmans, which is marked out as the most important function of the Kshatriya. The object of the second work is apparently to exalt the Brahmans; while the design of the first seems to have been mainly to serve as a sort of guide to the Kshatriyas.

The *Sukranitisara* must have been written soon after the Hindus had attained the summit of their glory in military tactics and in political organisation. In it we have described the germ of almost every conceivable branch of political administration. The fulness with which the various departments of administration are dealt with might raise a presumption that the work must have been written at a much later period than that to which it is generally supposed to belong. But, as Dr. Oppert has said,[15] we know comparatively little of the high degree of internal development which the Indian community had attained more than two thousand years ago. As to the age of the work, Dr. Oppert ascribes it to the same period which produced the Smritis and the early epic literature, and there is no reason to question the truth of his statement, as far, at least, as it says that the *Sukranitisara* should be regarded as possessing equal antiquity with the early epic literature;[16] for the earliest of the Smritis, *viz.*, the *Manavadharmasastra,* has been proved[17] by Dr. Bühler in his learned introduction to Manu, to be not older than the second century B.C. Assuming, then, that the *Mahabharata* existed, in however crude and imperfect a form, in the tenth or ninth century B. C., all the other works referred to fall into the intermediate period—between the ninth and second century B.C. This accords with the period to which Professor Max Müller assigns

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[13] *Sukranitisara,* Ch. I. line 245. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 11.

[14] *Manusmriti,* Ch. VII. verse 88.

[15] Preface to Dr. Oppert's Edition of *Sukranitisara,* page viii.

[16] *Ibid,* page vii.

[17] Dr. Bühler's *Laws of Manu.* Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV. Introduction, page cxvii.

the Sutra compositions, *viz.*, 600 to 200 B.C. The *Kamandakiyaniti*[18] must also belong to some period within this long interval. And the *Sukranitisara* itself must be referred to the eighth or seventh century B.C. This chronological order of the works may be provisionally accepted as being the best that under the present circumstances we can fix upon. My chief reason for making the *Sukranitisara* the groundwork of my paper is that, though it furnishes rare and almost invaluable information on the subject of government, the materials which it supplies have never yet been utilised. It does not seem to have been known in the days of Colebrooke.[19] Nor do Elphinstone and Talboys Wheeler appear to have been aware of its existence when they wrote their works. Dutt does not so much as refer to it. In this Presidency it was, I believe, comparatively unknown till Dr. Oppert published his edition of it in 1882.

The materials furnished by the works referred to may be so arranged as to admit of the whole subject of the primitive Hindu constitution being treated under the following six heads, *viz.*, (1) The King, (2) The King's Council, (3) The Administration of Justice, (4) The Revenue and Taxation, (5) Army Organisation and Foreign Conquest, (6) Provincial Government and Village Autonomy. In the present paper I shall confine my attention almost solely to the King and the assembly of ministers by whom he was advised and assisted in his work.

What exactly the nature of Hindu government was in Vedic times, and how far the Aryans who dwelt in the valley of the Indus and formed settlements in the land of the five rivers preserved and improved upon the political traditions and institutions which they must have brought with them, it is impossible for us to determine with any amount of certainty. The form of government which then prevailed was doubtless patriarchal, and the chief of each tribe acted as its king. But in those stirring times when the Aryans were chiefly bent on conquest, and when their main occupation was to drive back the native inhabitants and acquire new territory for themselves, there could have been little need for distinct functionaries like kings. The Aryans were all bound together by the tie of conquest, and they must all have been imbued with

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[18] *Ibid.* Introduction, page xxxviii.

[19] *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 501-507. Though the author makes numerous references to ancient Hindu jurists, he makes no allusion to Sukra's work.

that sense of nationality[20] which naturally marks a conquering race, and which never fails to burn in the heart of a people who believe themselves the depositary of a divine revelation.

The notions of the people in regard to the institutions of kingship had not yet assumed a definite shape. Those who were chiefs in war as well as in peace were looked up to as protectors and nourishers of men. These were called *Patis* (lords), *Vispatis* (lords of men), and *Rajahs*. The word Rajah is still the most common word in use for king, but it seems then to have been used in its literal sense of 'a shining one'. The idea of a king, as we now understand the term, does not seem to have been associated with the word Rajah at all. Western linguists and scholars in explaining the origin of the term 'king', connect it with the Sanskrit root *jan* (to be born) and seem to suggest [21] that *janaka* must have in the primitive Aryan tongue signified 'king'. The word *janaka*, being derived from the causative form of the root *jan*, literally signifies 'one who gives birth to', and means a father. It never appears to have denoted the king. We cannot, therefore, conclude from the presence of this word in the Veda or anywhere else, that kingship was a known institution amongst those by whom the word was used. Neither this word nor the word Rajah affords any clue to the determination of the origin of kingship in India. We only know in a vague way that patriarchal chieftains became in course of time kings. But what was the process by which those chieftains were converted into kings? We know, for instance, that among the Germans "the kings owed their election to the nobility of their birth and that the generals were chosen for their valour."[22] When the Saxons emigrated to England, they settled there under the leadership of a *heretoga* as chief military commander and an *ealdorman* as highest civil magistrate, the same individual in many cases holding both offices. Very soon, however, owing to the increase of dignity and power which would accrue to the leader from the very act of conquest, the heads of the principal tribes assumed the title of king. The office was, at first assigned by the will of the community to a particular individual for life, the community reserving the power to revoke the gift at any time for misconduct. The possession of this office was soon looked upon as conferring a

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[20] Cf. Sir. W. W. Hunter's *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, pp. 89-90.

[21] Freeman's *Comparative Politics*, Note 64 on Sect. IV. p. 450.

[22] Tacitus.

right which was more than merely personal, and did not altogether cease with death, but was transmissible to the king's descendants or nearest of kin, and subsequently even became liable to be disposed of by his testament. Such in brief was the origin of royalty in England. We proceed to enquire whether any explanation can be given of the origin of kingship in India.

The origin of kingship, like everything else connected with the history of Ancient India, is involved in obscurity. We search in vain in the various law books and treatises on polity for any light on the subject. Only Manu thinks it worth his while to attempt a solution of the question, and from an imaginative dread of what would happen were there to be no king, says[23] that, whereas the whole world was scattered in different directions, by fear consequent upon anarchy, the Lord for its protection created the king. This shows that the primary function of the king was to secure order and preserve peace in his territory. Beyond suggesting this Manu's statement does not in any way help us to the solution of the question at issue.

The mythological account of the origin of kingship, as related in the *Mahabharata*,[24] is of little historical value; but as it serves to explain and supply a foundation for some notions of royalty still entertained by the people, it may not be out of place to refer to it briefly here. We are there told that, after the great fight Yudhisthira, the eldest of the Pandava brothers and would-be-king of Bharatavarsha, goes to Bhishma, at the suggestion of the great sage Narada, and reverently begs of him to teach him the duties of a king. The all-wise Bhishma readily responds to his request and incidentally narrates the circumstances which rendered the creation of the king necessary. In the golden days of the Kritayuga (the first period of the world's existence) there was no kingdom, no king, no pronouncing of sentences, no magistrate. By the constant practice of righteousness people defended one another. As time went on, in that same age, sorrow, passion, greediness, and vanity one by one took possession of people's minds so that they deviated from the path of rectitude and fell from their pristine condition of purity. The impending extirpation of righteousness from the world greatly distressed the gods, who went to the Creator and prayed

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[23] Manu, Chapter vii. verse 3.

[24] *Mahabharata*, Santiparva: Rajadharma, Chapter lix. (the whole). Protap Chandra Roy's Edition.

that order and tranquillity might be restored. The Lord of the Universe dismissed them with a promise that He would see what He could best do for them. He thought over the matter, and after due deliberation brought into being, for the proper government of the world, a new science under the name of *Dandaniti*, of fabulous length and immensely wide comprehension, which he communicated to Siva. Out of compassion for man and in consideration of the shortness of his life, Siva and after him a whole host of authors condensed the *Dandaniti* and reduced it to manageable dimensions. The gods now approached Vishnu and entreated him to point out to them the person who was best qualified to rule over mankind in this world. Vishnu begat a mind-born son of the name of Virajasa (literally, one who is free from passion). From him through a long succession of kings, descended Vinya, the first sovereign to hold sway over the earth. He was a perfect king, and having been instructed by the *rishis* to be " impartial to all creatures, to set aside all friendships and hatreds, to punish every one who transgressed the bounds of righteousness, and to pledge himself to preserve the glory of God upon the earth,"[25] religiously bound himself to abide by their mandates. The *rishis* further took care to exact from him a promise that he would strive to save the world from warfare and *invariably exempt Brahmans*[26] from all punishment. The beneficent king ruled so wisely and justly that Vishnu himself entered into his body, so as to entitle him to the reverence of all mankind. It is evident, however, that this legendary account of the origin of kingship is of little historical moment, useful though it is in other ways. In the first place it is plain that this account could not have formed a part of the original traditions of the *Mahabharata*. The Brahmans would seem to have interpolated it, in justification of their own ascendency when, at a later time, the Brahman hierarchy had the king completely under their control and their influence with him became unbounded. Secondly, it furnishes a basis for a statement commonly applied by Hindus to *kings* and even to men in high official positions and that goes some way to determine the relations of the community at large to the government, *viz.*, that the king is no other than Vishnu, or that he is Vishnu himself in a human form.

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[25] *Mahabharata*, Santiparva: Rajadharma, Chapter lix. verses 104,105,106,107.

[26] *Ibid.* Chapter lix. verse 108.

Setting aside myths and legends, what rational explanation can we offer of the origin of kingship in India ? We have already seen that in Vedic times the institution of kingship was not fully developed. The government was patriarchal, and the persons who took upon themselves the protection of the weak and the subjugation of the wicked were scarcely looked upon as distinct functionaries. The fact seems to be that till after the introduction of the caste system royalty as a regular institution was unknown to the Hindus. As the Aryans proceeded from Brahmavarta to Brahmarshidesa (the land between the Drishadvati and the Jumna), and thence to Madhyadesa (the land between the Jumna and the Ganges) they came into collision with many native tribes, and consequently it became indispensable that one section of the people should be set apart for the protection of the whole race and for defending against indigenous foes the property and the territory which the Aryans had acquired. Different functions had, therefore, to be assigned to different sections of the community, and, as a result of this division and distribution of labour, it came about that the duty of waging warfare with hostile tribes, of preserving internal peace and order, and of overcoming all obstacles that tended to interfere with the performance of sacrifices and the observance of religious rites, fell exclusively upon the Kshatriyas. The literal signification of the term Kshatriya is 'one who saves from danger or calamity'.[27] This meaning is frequently alluded to by Sanskrit writers,[28] and the Kshatriya is constantly exhorted to remember his first and foremost function on the battlefield—to destroy foes and deliver his own people from danger. It would, therefore, appear that at first it was the duty of every Kshatriya, from the very fact of his being such, to be prepared to defend the country against enemies and to discharge that primary duty of the king—to act as a warrior and military leader. In times of peace, those military leaders who had distinguished themselves by their valour and prowess must have exercised certain powers of a civil character. Still, there were yet no actual kings. Even in the heroic age (the period of the *Mahabharata*), no steps were taken to lay firmly the foundations of the institution of kingship, filled though the episodes of the great Epic are with the names of mythical kings. The *Mahabharata* relates a

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[27] See any commentary on verse 456. Kanda ii. Amarakosha.

[28] Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa*, Canto ii. verse 53, and Bharavi's *Kiratarjuniya*, Canto iii. verse 48.

deadly contest for supremacy between two celebrated families of Kshatriyas, both of which claimed descent from the moon. These Kshatriyas paid no attention to the affairs of their kingdom. In fact, their lives were otherwise so absorbed that they could not possibly discharge their duty to their subjects. It was not till after the great fight had ended that Yudhisthira sought at the feet of Bhishma to be initiated into the mysteries of administration and the art of government. Yudhisthira, after all, did not reign long,[29] but soon abdicated the throne, sorely grieved at the pitiable fate that had befallen his kinsmen.

During the later times, however, to which the story of the *Ramayana*[30] belongs, kingship became fully developed, and we find kings taking active and genuine interest in public affairs. In this period also, and for the first time, we find in the full exercise of their powers, the king, the smaller council consisting of chieftains and ministers and the officers in immediate attendance upon the sovereign, and the larger general council composed of the nation at large—those three constituent elements of the primitive Aryan State, which, as Freeman points out, are still represented in the constitutions of many of the Aryan nations of Europe. As Rama grew to manhood and became well versed in all that princes ought to know, an idea which he himself had cherished for some time was suggested to Dasaratha, that Rama should be installed as the crown prince (*yuvarajah*). A deputation consisting of ministers, chieftains, and people made this proposal to the king. The sovereign thereupon summoned a great council or parliament, at which he expressed his intention of appointing Rama to be *yuvarajah*, and invited the opinion[31] thereon of the whole assembly. The subjects indicated by shouts and acclamations their desire to see Rama installed. The king in obedience to the wishes of his subjects declared that Rama's installation was to take place on the morrow. We thus see how through the epic ages the government became well-organised and came finally to be placed on a permanent footing. As the Hindus pushed forward towards the east and south, acquired property, gained new territories, and perhaps also encountered fresh foes, it became necessary to have regular kings and a regular political

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[29] Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, Vol. I.

[30] *Ramayana*, Ayodhyakanda, Cantos i and ii. Also Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, Vol. II. pp. 77-78.

[31] *Ramayana*, Ayodhyakanda, Canto ii. verses 15 and 16.

organisation, so that by the time when the *Sukranitisara* was composed, the Hindus had developed a completely organised and well-founded political system, containing the germs of all the departments of administration into which the work of a government naturally divides itself at the present time. From the beginning there must have been some families which by their heroic acts, timely service to the kingdom, and constant exertion in the interests of the State, established their superiority over other families, and thus made good their claim upon the lasting gratitude of their countrymen. The office of king, no doubt, soon became hereditary in these families, as every office tended to do in India, under the ancient system of government. Thus must kingship have originated in this country.

What was regarded as the essential business of the sovereign is to be sought in the derivation of the Sanskrit name for 'king'. A king is in Sanskrit 'Rajah'; and he is so-called because he does or ought to 'please the people'. All Sanskrit lexicographers are at one in deriving the word from the root *râj*, to please or gratify; and the word is similarly derived also by Sanskrit poets. Thus, as the name seems to imply, the individual holding the position of Rajah was from the first looked upon as one whose sole business consisted in 'gratifying his people' by wise rule. Accordingly the notion very soon got into the minds of the people that the king was a superhuman being who, in seeking the happiness of others, altogether disregarded his own.[32] He was, as it were, the deity who had charge of the temporal interests of mankind. Do not the five elements—the earth, the water, the fire, the wind, and the sky—serve not their own interests, but those of all the creatures of the world?[33] Even so does the king, who is made up of those elements.

We have already seen how the king came to be regarded as Vishnu himself in a human form. There was now evolved another theory that as the king was the guardian of the world, he must have been created out of elements taken from the persons of the eight guardian deities of the world—the Ashtadikpalakas (Indra, Anila, or the wind, Yama, Arka, or the sun, Agni, or the fire, Varuna, Chandra, or the moon, Kubera).[34] At a time when a supernatural

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[32] Cf. *Sakuntala*, Act V. verse 7: Indifferent to your own comforts, you undergo hardships for the sake of your subjects.

[33] Cf. Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa*, Canto i. verse 29.

[34] *Sukranitisara*, Chapter I. lines 141 and 142,

agency was called in to explain the least complex phenomenon of nature, and when the uncultivated intellect of a simple and unimaginative people invested everything which was too great for their comprehension with a peculiar sacredness and mysteriousness, it was but natural that a personage who wielded without fear or favour the stern rod of discipline, who solemnly pledged himself to maintain order in society, and who decided disputes which it was beyond the power of the persons concerned to settle for themselves, soon came to be looked upon as a being composed of divine elements. We have, however, ample evidence to show that it was more because the duties of the king bore a close resemblance to those of the eight protecting gods than for any other reason that he was supposed to have been made up of superhuman elements. What was perhaps literally believed in at first was ere long understood and taken to be true only in a figurative sense. The figurative interpretation, which is briefly touched upon by Sukra[35] in his *Nitisara*, is elaborated by Manu. Sukra only points out in a general way the resemblance between regal functions and the functions of the eight tutelary deities of the world. Manu[36] carries the comparison into greater detail and shows how each particular duty of the sovereign is analogous to the office of one of the eight protecting gods. Manu says:—

"As Indra sends copious rains during the four months of the rainy season, even so let the king, taking upon himself the office of Indra, shower benefits upon his kingdom.

As Surya, the sun-god, draws up the water by his rays, so let the Raja, by his sovereign power, draw the legal revenue from his dominions.

As the wind moves (everywhere) entering (in the shape of the vital air) all created beings, even so let him penetrate (everywhere) through his spies; that is the office in which he resembles the wind.

As Yama at the appointed time subjects to his rule both friends and foes, even so all the subjects must be controlled by the king; that is the office in which he resembles Yama.

As a (sinner) is seen bound with ropes by Varuna, so let him punish the wicked; that is the office in which he resembles Varuna.

He is a king taking upon himself the office of the *moon*, whose

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35 *Sukranitisara*, Chapter I. Dr. Oppert's edition, p. 7.

36 *Manavadharmasastra*, Chapter IX. verses 305-312.

(appearance) the subjects greet with as great joy as men feel in seeing the full moon.

If he is ardent in wrath against criminals and endowed with brilliant energy and destroys wicked vassals, then his character is said to resemble that of fire.

As the earth supports all created beings equally, thus (a king) who supports all his subjects takes upon himself the office of earth."

The phases of development through which the art of government and the institution of kingship must have passed in the long interval between Sukra and Manu sufficiently account for the difference in the two interpretations. A careful comparison of the two accounts makes it clear that in Manu's time the duties of the king were more clearly defined and critically understood than in the age of Sukra. The old belief, however, regarding the composition of the king's body, still remained, and when there was a change in the notions as to royalty, the belief was adjusted so as to suit the new notions.

One essential element of the modern idea of kingship is that the king is personally irresponsible for his actions.[37] Strange as it may appear, in primitive constitutions the contrary generally holds good. At first sight these statements are somewhat startling; for with an increased sense of the responsibility devolving upon the several members of the commonwealth, and with the growth of constitutional monarchy, we naturally expect that the notion that the king should be held accountable for his actions would bestrengthened. History, nevertheless, proves the very opposite to be true. For instance, there was a time in England when the sovereign could be called upon to explain his actions.[38] How, then, are we to explain this seeming paradox? How is it that there is such a difference between primitive societies and advanced societies as regards a king's responsibility for his actions. The reason is that when once a well-organised constitution has been established in any country, the sovereign thenceforward practically becomes only one constituent member of the State. His personal will can no longer be the law, and his actions are no more the results of his own independent deliberations. Every act of the State thenceforth becomes the product of the co-operation of a number of forces set at work in accordance with the recognised principles upon which the constitu-

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[37] Freeman's *Comparative Politics*, p. 142.

[38] P. V. Smith's *English Institutions*, p. 246.

tion is based. Hence in England the sovereign is not accountable for his actions, but the ministers who are supposed to constantly guide and direct him are. In primitive governments it is otherwise. The king is a person of extraordinary powers of body and of mind, of great courage and strong will. He has to maintain peace and order, for the most part by his own individual exertions. He possesses none of the machinery by means of which civilised governments are able to enforce obedience to their laws. Hence in primitive constitutions such as that of India we find the duties of the king set forth very elaborately. He has to manage every kind of business himself;[39] and the welfare of his kingdom depends to a very great extent upon his personal example, personal exertion, and personal courage. In these governments, though the other parts of the political machinery might be in a workable condition without the king, the State would at once collapse. We have in the *Sukranitisara* and other works pictures drawn for us of the state of a country without a king. If there were no king to lead the people, the whole State would be wrecked like a ship without sailors to navigate it. Without the fear inspired by a king the several orders of the community would not attend to their respective duties.[40] It is a king and a Brahman deeply versed in the Vedas who uphold order in the world. On them depends the existence of the fourfold human race, of internally conscious beings, of those which move on feet and on wings, and of those which creep.[41] If the world were deprived of its king, anarchy would triumph and fear would scatter in different directions all the creatures of the earth.[42]

P. NAGABHUSHANAM.

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[39] *Sukranitisara*, Chapter I. line 704. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 30.

[40] *Ibid*. Chapter I. lines 130-131. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 6.

[41] *Gautamadharmasutra*, Vol. II. Sacred Books of the East, pp. 211 and 212.

[42] Manu, vii. 3.

LITERARY NOTICES.

James Thomason. By Sir Richard Temple, Bart. Rulers of India. Clarendon Press, 1893.

THIS is an interesting sketch of a man whose quiet unassuming modesty and unwearied devotion to duty, united as these were to high intellectual attainments and well-nigh inexhaustible energy, made him appear to his contemporaries an almost ideal ruler. The sketch is all the more valuable because it is drawn by a friend who has supplied us with details of inner personal life which could never have been derived from mere records. No one can study it without feeling a sincere respect and admiration for Thomason, and a very kindly sympathy with his biographer. Thomason was born in India, and, with the exception of eight years of boyhood, and one or two brief visits to England, spent the whole of his life in India. He was only eighteen when, on the completion of his education, he returned to India as a servant of the East India Company; but his extraordinary distinction in linguistic studies and his intense application to work made his promotion so rapid that he was appointed Secretary to Government before he had completed ten years' service. Fortunately for him, after two years in the Secretariat, he received an appointment to the Collectorate of an up-country station, and was thus enabled to come into immediate contact with the people and to acquire a direct knowledge of all the details of district administration which proved invaluable to him in after life. His district administration was so eminently successful that, at its close, after a year's work as Foreign Secretary under Lord Ellenborough, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. In his account of the public and private life of the Liutenant-Governor Sir Richard Temple has succeeded even better than in the earlier parts of his monograph. His description of the multifarious duties of the post and in particular his vivid description of camp life in the rural districts could hardly be surpassed. It is not often that a province has the good fortune to be under the care of a Governor whose accurate knowledge of local affairs and deep interest in all classes of the community enable him to realize the actual condition of the people over whom he rules, and plan and carry out far-reaching schemes for the amelioration of their lot. Thomason had a wonderful knowledge of details, and never forgot that the success of a scheme depends very largely upon the attention bestowed on small matters connected with it.

"He would walk into the record room of a collectorate, take down a bundle of vernacular proceedings, detect at a glance if they had been properly arranged, and remark upon the order passed by the collector. He would enter a medical dispensary, examine the book of cases, gladden the heart of the Native surgeon with a few pertinent remarks, and perhaps set him thinking on the

properties of a drug, procurable in the bazaar and relied upon by the Native physicians, but unknown to English physicians. He would question a Native revenue officer about the condition of his villages, and remark upon the effect of a hail storm which had recently occurred in some village under his control. Every officer was aware that with him generalities were of no avail, that the Governor knew more of his district than he did himself, and that his own best policy was to point out deficiencies."

The foundation of Thomason's character was faith in God and a deep and earnest desire to fulfil the law of Christ. In every event he recognised the divine hand, and in all his plans he looked for the divine guidance. He was a warm friend of Christian Missions, and "would," we are told, "suggest new plans, and point to fresh directions in which the Christian effort of each labourer engaged in the work might extend itself." He gave his countenance to Native Christians, "and made them feel their fellowship with him in Christ. He occasionally attended their church services in the vernacular, and translated a part of the Psalms into elegant Hindustani for their use."

History of India. By H. G. Keene. 2 Vols. London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1893.

As might be expected from the personality of the author, it is the British rule that is made the main subject of this useful work The Prae-Muslim period is treated very slightly, occupying only one-tenth of the first volume. The anarchic era following the death of Aurungzeb has been described with a fulness of detail, excessive here, though not unnatural at the hands of the author of *The Fall of the Moghul Empire.* Up to this point the book is somewhat disappointing, but as soon as the author reaches ground with which he is familiar, either through conversation with predecessors or his own observation, a marked change comes over the whole treatment and style. The want of clearness and the dulness which make themselves felt in the first volume disappear almost entirely. As a college history of India from the days of Lord Hastings the second volume probably excels all its competitors. Not only is the narrative sufficient and clear, but the opinions expressed are candid and sensible. A marked feature is the attention given to the subject of the administrative system and its development. Better than from any other History of India the student will be able to form a clear idea of how the Indian Empire and its dependencies are governed, and how the present system of government has been developed. The author has neither ascribed too much to the influence of great men nor to the force of circumstances. His history, accordingly, while it commends itself to our reason, appeals also to our instinctive sentiment of hero-worship. Altogether for good and ill, the personal equation of the writer gives to the latter part of the work a living interest.

The book is fairly well illustrated with maps, sketches, and plans. No pains have been spared to secure accuracy through consultation of records old and new—and indeed Mr. Keene has been able to avail himself of official documents not accessible to the public to an extent which his competitors might envy. And perhaps the most useful characteristic of the book is the list of references and authorities inserted at the end of each section. We must confess to some surprise at the remarkable inconsistency in the spelling of Oriental words, especially after the attention called to the subject in the preface. A great many words are spelt in two or more ways in different parts of the book. And the number of misprints is considerably greater than we are accustomed to in books of this class.

Longmans' Colonial Library.

Darkness and Dawn, or Scenes in the Days of Nero. An Historic Tale. By F. W. Farrar.

Darkness and Dawn is an historic tale, depicting in a series of brilliant sketches life in Rome in the days of Nero. The author's intimate acquaintance with the history of the period and his wonderful power of delineation have made his sketches so graphic that the scenes depicted seem almost visibly present, and the persons who played their part in them cease to be mere abstractions and become real living men and women. The men and women are typical of the age in which they lived. Agrippina, the tiger-like empress, whose personal charms and fierce unconquerable will swept every obstacle from her path, only that she might at last meet a disgraceful death at the hands of the son for whose sake she had perpetrated the most terrible crimes; Poppaea, whose fair childlike smile, veiling a heart to which purity and pity were alike unknown, won the hand of the emperor but could not preserve its possessor from a death due to his thoughtless cruelty; Petronius, the gay thoughtless man of pleasure, steeped in every vice and so recklessly indifferent to fate that he could die, as he had doomed others to death, with a careless smile upon his lips; Seneca, the wise philosopher and eloquent rhetorician, whose writings would entitle him to rank amongst the noblest, did not his immense rapacity and shameful connivance at the worst crimes of his royal master force us to consider him one of the basest of mankind; above all, Nero himself, a cruel, cowardly boy, swollen up with vanity, saturated with every evil lust, a foul hyena-creature whom accident had robed in a lion's skin;—could we have more perfect types of a society utterly corrupted and depraved? It would be impossible in our days to paint the life of the Roman Empire in all its hideous nakedness. Archdeacon Farrar has drawn back the veil as far as it may be drawn, and we have a glance into the very depths of

hell. "It was," he says, "a world filled with the ghost of crime and weird with insensate projects and monstrous revellings. Nero had attempted everything, abused everything, polluted everything, and 'the scoriac river of passion accursed,' of which he drank so freely, did but consume and burn up his powers. He had become like a dead thing in a wilderness of dead capacities, inspired at once by insatiable desires and incurable disgusts. While he played the god he sank lower than Christian eye can follow him into the beast." It was as if the whole spirit of the old heathen world, its pride, its cruelty, its unspeakable lust, had become incarnate in one man, and that man an emperor, in order that men might see what humanity may become when it has forgotten God and centred its thoughts upon itself. It was in this age of seemingly hopeless darkness that there dawned upon the lands of the west that purer, holier faith, which, born in the obscurity of an undistinguished province, and propagated by a small band of unlearned peasants, was destined to effect a complete revolution in human society and usher in a new and better epoch in the history of man. The dramatic interest of this book consists chiefly in the wonderful contrast which it displays between the two forces at work throughout the Roman Empire, the one sitting enthroned in splendour, holding, or seeming to hold, in iron grasp, the destinies of the world, the other, crouching in dungeons or hiding its head in the obscurity of some poor slave's cell, too weak to offer even a show of resistance to the insults and cruelties of its foes. Those who have only known Christianity as it appears in the days of its triumph, the professed faith of all the great dominant races of men, will learn much by a study of its origin and early history. There was nothing in the circumstances of the time to account for its rapid spread and wonderful vitality. It made no appeal to the passions, or even to the interests of men. So far from taking advantage of the forces at work in society it was in such direct and deadly antagonism to the spirit of the time, that it found arrayed against it all the wealth and power and wisdom of the age. We can give no other explanation of the power of the new faith than that given by the man who played the most important part in the propagation of it: "God chose the weak things of the world that He might put to shame the things that are strong; and the base things of the world, and the things that are despised, did God choose, yea and the things that are not, that He might bring to nought the things that are."

Cleopatra. By H. Rider Haggard.

Ex Africa semper aliquid novi, and Mr. Rider Haggard has well proved the applicability of this to the realms of romance as well as to those of travel and discovery. *Cleopatra* conducts us through the fascinating times when Antony loved and Egypt fell. The story is an attempt to explain why the conjoint history of Antony and Cleopatra is so full of tragic mystery, and professes to have been gathered from a

papyrus found in the coffin of a mummy in a tomb near Abydus. The struggle in it lies between Cleopatra and the wronged and sinful Harmachis, who is represented as the instrument in the hands of the gods of Khem for the destruction of the wanton queen.

The story is written with all Mr. Rider Haggard's accustomed vigour and is throughout full of interest, whilst the closing scenes, in which the awful vengeance of Harmachis culminates, are dramatic in the extreme. The book is beautifully illustrated from designs by Mr. R. Caton Woodville and M. Greiffenhagen, and will in every way commend itself to lovers of romance.

THE most recent addition to Longmans' Colonial Library is the third volume of Professor Froude's *Short Studies on Great Subjects.* In February last we had the pleasure of commending the two first volumes to the attention of our readers; and it is unnecessary now to add anything to what we then said regarding these *Studies.* It may be well to state, however, that two of the essays included in the present volume are published for the first time. These are 'Divus Cæsar' and 'Leaves from a South African Journal'. Among other books recently included in the Library are *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* and *Other Worlds than Ours.* Neither of these works stands in any need of recommendation at our hands.

Macmillan's Colonial Library.

Richard Escott. By Edward H. Cooper.

THIS book is hardly worthy of a place in Macmillan's well-known and popular series. It aims at the real and attains to the commonplace. The author professes to give us a bit of real life, "the plain unvarnished truth about one man," in the confidence that the lesson that follows must necessarily be good. He chooses for his subject, being a professed realist, "a phenomenally wicked person," and, since even professed realists can rarely resist the attractions of 'high life', represents this person as "a good-looking man with perfect manners, and an unfailing stock of good stories, adventures, wit and new ideas," and the eldest son of a viscount who holds the high office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Richard Escott is a man altogether heartless and almost utterly shameless. He has squandered his property and ruined his reputation, and we are introduced to him at a period when he is attempting to escape from his financial difficulties, by selling his daughter to one of his gambling companions, an unprincipled French duke who has just won an unenviable record in the divorce court. His schemes are foiled by the vigilance of Lady Mary Fane, "the wife of a Secretary to the Embassy, a

good humoured and remarkably outspoken lady of fifty or so, a terror alike to evil doers, and her husband," and the assistance of James Alford, a socialist M.P., who thinks to give himself a firmer footing in society by marrying into an aristocratic family and has made up his mind that Nellie Escott is as attractive and as unobjectionable as any of "his young lady admirers." On the failure of his schemes the hero quarrels with his friend and accomplice, forces him into a duel in which he receives a dangerous wound, and finally returns to his old home, a helpless and hopeless cripple. He shows no sign of repentance, he feels no sorrow for his wasted past, he sees nothing before him but a life of dull and painful monotony, and, unable to endure this, he puts an end to his existence by an overdose of morphine

We cannot, we must confess, see the utility of such a sketch as this. It is necessary to look on the shady side of life in order that we may realize the terrible possibilities of evil that lie hidden within the heart of each one of us, but the concentration of the attention upon the baser elements of human nature is apt to render us callous to human suffering and tolerant rather than abhorrent of evil. It is much easier to depict the coarse and ugly than to give a true representation of the beautiful. This is, we are inclined to suspect, the reason why so many who call themselves realists have no eyes for anything which is not foul and evil. The treatment of some of the minor characters in this book, characters which ought to have been interesting and attractive but are not, strengthens our suspicion that the author has, in his choice of a subject, been influenced to no slight extent by this motive.

Apostolic Succession, in the Light of Scripture and History. By the Rev. J. E. Robinson. Madras, 1894.

This is the fourth edition of what was originally a rejoinder to a rather vigorous attack made upon the ministry of Nonconformist churches by a High Church dignitary. It is a temperately worded but stringently reasoned polemic against the dogma, held by a section of the Anglican Church, that the bishops of that Church are ecclesiastically the lineal descendants of the Apostles, and that their ordination has been derived from the Apostles in the way described in the following sentence: "The Lord Jesus Christ gave his spirit to the Apostles: they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops." It follows from this, and the inference is explicitly drawn, that no society of professing Christians who have not as their pastor either a bishop, or one ordained by a bishop, have any claim to be called a portion of the Christian Church, or can derive any spiritual benefit from participation in the ordinances of Christian worship.

It is not our line to side with or against any of the sects into which the visible Church of Christ is unfortunately broken up. But when any one of these, expressly or by implication, unchurches all the others, we think we are justified in calling attention to any well-directed attempt, such as the one under review, to inculcate a more catholic spirit.

Selections from the Consultations of the Agent Governor and Council of Fort St. George. 1681. Edited by A. T. Pringle. Fourth Series. Madras: Government Press, 1893.

A HEARTY welcome will be given to the renewal of these publications, casting as they do so much light upon the early history of British India. Mr. Pringle promises us a volume thrice a year, hereafter reproducing the records *in extenso*, a change which will considerably increase the value of the series. He has done his work well. The selections seem to have been judiciously made, the short introduction is sufficient, and the notes are useful.

The volume contains interesting particulars as to the Company's Madras trade in those days. It also gives a vivid picture of the trouble caused by an embargo placed by Lingappa Nayak of Poonamallee upon the bringing of goods and provisions into Madras. It shows us the Nabob at Golconda writing to demand the rent for the ground of Madras and meditating raising it. It reminds us that once the Dutch were at Pulicat and Negapatam, more experienced and secure than the English settlers. We follow Freeman reconnoitring at Porto Novo and Cuddalore—a journey which led to the occupation of Fort St. David. But the prominent figure is the Governor, Streynsham Master—a blunt imperious man with views of his own, distasteful to the Court of Directors. In this year he was superseded, and we see him attacked at once by the native merchants, the washermen, and the officials. It is significant of the usefulness which the series will possess that its first volume should correct Talboys Wheeler's statement that the ex-Governor was imprisoned.

WE are in receipt of several interesting publications recently issued by the Christian Literary Society, Madras. One of these is a third edition, of 4,000 copies, of a *Pictorial Tour round England, Scotland, and Ireland*. Along with one hundred and twenty illustrations descriptions are given of the chief places of interest in the United Kingdom; of the public schools and universities; of English agriculture, manufactures, and shipping; of the British Government and the national income and expenditure; and of English home life. The price is six annas and the postage $1\frac{1}{2}$ as. Another descriptive book is *Kasi, or Benares:* the Holy City of the Hindus. This also is very fully illustrated. The price is three annas and the postage one anna. A very interesting volume of

the Anna Library is *The Story of Dr. Livingstone.* Mr. Henry Morris, late of the Madras Civil Service, is writing for the Society a series of papers on the Governors-General of India; and the first series, comprising short sketches of the lives of Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Shore, the Marquis Wellesley, the Earl of Minto, and the Marquis of Hastings, has been published. The price is four annas, and the postage one anna. A compilation having special interest at the present time is *The Cow Question in India.* This is intended to show the worthless nature of many of the arguments brought forward by the leaders of the cow protection movement, and the absurdity of their demand that Government should prohibit the slaughter of oxen. It contrasts the condition of cattle in India with their condition in England, and gives hints for the improvement of cattle in this country. The price is 1½ as., or post-free 2 as.

An English Anthology from Chaucer to Tennyson. Selected and Edited by John Bradshaw, M.A., LL.D. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894.

THIS is the fourth edition of the late Dr. Bradshaw's well-known and extensively used selection of English poetry. As stated in the preface, which was written in September last, it is a reprint of the third edition, except that it stops short at the commencement of the laureateship of Tennyson, in 1850. This was found necessary not only on account of the difficulty of inserting copyright poems, but also on account of the still greater difficulty of adequately representing the verse of the present half century, especially that of living poets. The present edition, which is the first published in England, is beautifully printed on good paper; and we are sure that many will be pleased to have the *Anthology* in its newest form.

Electricity and Magnetism: Elementary Course. By C. G. Knott, D.Sc. London and Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers.

THIS is by far the best elementary text-book of electricity and magnetism that we have seen. The subject is developed, as of course such a subject should be, from experiments. Of these there is a large number, all of them carefully selected to illustrate the various fundamental phenomena of this branch of science, and most of them of so simple a character that they can be performed with the homeliest apparatus. A particularly praiseworthy feature of the book is the prominence given to Faraday's great conception of the magnetic and electric fields, usually ignored in elementary books, but really essential for a true appreciation of the commonest facts of the science. The more difficult parts of the subject, such as the working of induction machines and the idea of

potential, are very successfully dealt with by the author, being well led up to, and explained in a most lucid manner. The value of the book is enhanced by the exercises which are given at the end of each chapter, many of which suggest additional experiments and aspects of the subject not described in the text.

A Manual of Electrical Science. By George J. Burch, B. A. London: Methuen and Co.

THIS little book is very different from the foregoing, being professedly of a 'popular' character. No attempt is made to discuss the principles of the subject, the book consisting chiefly of an account of the simpler applications of electricity in practical life. As such it may prove of interest to those who wish to know something of the mechanism of these things without going further into the subject.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS.

THE question whether the pressure of our educational system is injuriously affecting the health of Indian students has formed the subject of much discussion during the last few months. Public interest in the question was aroused by the reference to it in Dr. Bhandarkar's Convocation address and by an address delivered by Mr. Justice Ranade; and it has since formed the subject of many a contribution to the columns of the press. As is usually the case in such discussions there has been a tendency on the part of those who have taken part in the present one to lose sight of the conditions under which discussion could be profitably conducted. In spite of what was said by Dr. Bhandarkar there has been no proper attempt made to test the validity of the statistics on which the charge against the universities has been based. There has been much misconception regarding the relation of education and vital energy, and even regarding the function of education itself. The *Bombay Educational Record* has reprinted from the *Indian Spectator* an article which calls forcible attention to several mistakes that have been made by those who have taken part in the discussion.

In the first place the writer shows that because the constitutions of students have sometimes broken down it does not follow either that the universities ought to be closed or that any radical changes should be made in the curricula of study. He points out that the class of students who are held to have suffered most from the pressure of education are just those whose conditions of life, traditions, and temperament make them most unfit to stand the drain of vital energy which higher

education, like all other kinds of work, both mental and physical, implies. It is obvious, therefore, that those who would pursue their studies to an advanced stage must bring with them not only sufficient mental capacity, but a good supply of vital energy. And they must further take care that the supply of vital energy is well maintained. This leads the writer to point out that it is not the business of education directly to generate a higher vitality nor to replenish the drain of vitality which it inevitably creates. The capacity to think and the capacity to work are not one and the same thing; and though education may enable a man to utilise to the best advantage the vital energy which he possesses, it is not the source of this energy. Action, as the writer says, requires, not the capacity of the thought, but the energy of the will, the power of initiative, of sustained effort, of resources of adaptation, qualities which are not to be had simply for the asking but which have to grow and become organised in the system in correspondence with the whole of the environment, past and present. In this lies the explanation of the superiority of the European over the native of India in energy and resource and in the faculty of work and adjustment. These qualities may yet, says the writer, arise in the native of India in their time and season, but it is wrong to taunt him for not now possessing them or to call upon education pure and simple to produce them. It is wrong to attribute the superiority of the European merely to the superiority of his university education, from which it follows that it is also wrong to condemn the Indian system of education because Indian graduates are not the equals of their European brethren in vigour and originality. But while higher education cannot produce that vital energy in which so many Indian students are deficient, it ought to show to the people of this country the way in which they may become possessed of it. There can be little doubt that as yet some even of the best educated and most cultured of them have not fully realised the conditions of a healthy and vigorous life, but are all too careless as to the food they eat, the clothing they wear, and the houses they live in. In this matter, as in many another, however, India is at present in a transition stage; and there is much truth in the statement of the writer of the paper under review that "while the champions of culture and mental evolution are loudly calling upon the awakened intellect of the country to achieve triumphs in the fields of literature and science, in blissful unconciousness of the need of physical well-being, this indispensable foundation for what is sought after is being slowly but surely laid by the silent march of commerce, the accumulation of wealth, the incidental uplifting of the standard of living, competition, the growing relish for human interests of all kinds, and last, educational and political activities."

Contrasting the circumstances of India at the present time with those of Europe at the time of the Renaissance, the writer points out that it is

vain to reason that such a vigorous and progressive individualism ought to follow the introduction of European literature into this country as followed the revival of learning in Europe. The revival of learning in Europe was not the cause but only a manifestation of accumulated vital energy; and we need not hope that the sequence will be different in India. Education itself is not nourishment, nor does it constitute the dynamics of life. It does, however, enable the recipient to understand himself and his surroundings and impart order to his thoughts and aims. That is, so to speak, while it does not create the energy of life, it acts as a guide in the transformation and conservation of it.

The writer of the paper under review points out in conclusion that taking into account the fact that higher education in this country is the growth of less than fifty years, the matter for surprise is, not that it has not been productive of results in the fields of literature and science, but that it has been so fruitful of results in directions more calculated to benefit the people. He holds that the very complaints against which he has felt it necessary to protest are an indication that education is doing the work it is fitted to do. They show that new ideals have arisen in view of which the standards of practice are felt to be inadequate.

We have before us several mission reports in which attention is directed to some important questions affecting the progress of mission work and the welfare of the Native Christian community. In connection with many of the stations mentioned in these reports we notice statements that at first sight seem very discouraging—statements to the effect that the church membership shows either a decrease as compared with the previous year or an increase much smaller than we might hope for. In many cases, however, these statements are accompanied by explanations which encourage the hope that progress in the future will be steadier than it has been in the past. A decrease in church membership very often means the exercise of a much stricter discipline on the part of the missionary in charge than it had been customary to enforce; and sometimes, too, it would seem to mean a more careful revision of the church registers. In some cases also the losses of one mission are gains to another; and when a transference takes place in a fair and natural way there is of course no real cause for discouragement to the mission that bears the loss. But unfortunately all missionaries do not seem to consider themselves as fellow-workers with one another; and we can conceive of nothing more discouraging to a missionary who honestly strives to raise the tone of the Christian community under his charge than to find that those who are unwilling to submit to discipline will be received by the agents of another mission, or that even the better members of the community are liable to be tempted away by offers of land or other forms of worldly inducement. In the reports before us we do

not find any complaints on this head against the agents of Protestant missions, but both in the Report of the American Evangelical Lutheran Mission and in the report of the Sialkot Mission we hear of the unscrupulous methods employed by the Roman Catholics in order that they may make proselytes. In the latter report it is stated that they have bought up land on the Chenab Canal for proselytising purposes. We are glad to find that the American Evangelical Lutheran Mission has been able to come to some kind of agreement with the American Baptist Union in regard to work to the south of the Kistna; and we hope that both missions will live up to the agreement that has been made. It does seem a pity, however, that the Baptist Union should have thought fit to enter a field that was already occupied. In the Report of the Basel German Evangelical Mission also we find mention made of a fact that seems to indicate a sad lack of Christian principle. It is there stated that a missionary of the S. P. G. has consecrated a place of worship in the very compound of the Basel Mission, on a piece of ground which the Basel Mission had sold at a reduced price to persons belonging to the S. P. G. community on condition that they should not sell it to anyone else. It would seem, indeed, that there are men in India professing to be Christian missionaries who have so little realised the nature of God's dealings with mankind that they can believe that the way of salvation can be made known only through them or through the section of the Church to which they belong.

In connection with the subject of baptism Mr. J. H. Martin of West Gujranwala makes a statement which if true forms a very serious indictment of the methods employed in some missions. He is referring to the case of a young man who wished to be baptised, but who was under age, and therefore under the guardianship of his father. Mr. Martin rightly refused to baptise him without his father's consent. We do not know, however, how far he is justified in saying that he could easily have done as is usually done in other missions in the north of India—"send him off to some other station for baptism and then send him to England for an education or employ him as a catechist at a salary twice or thrice as large as he would be worth in any other employment and let him end his days in ease." If this is a common practice, it is a practice that cannot be too strongly condemned; but we can hardly believe that many missionaries have such a crude conception of the duties of their calling as is implied in Mr. Martin's statement. A statement of this kind is one which cannot fairly be based on even a considerable number of instances; and seeing that nothing in the way of evidence is adduced in support of the statement in question, it had better not have been made. In another part of the report Mr. Martin makes a statement of very similar purport. He is speaking this time of the educational work carried on in West Gujranwala and of the difficulty of getting Christian teachers. He says that few

Christians are qualified for the duties of teacher, and the reason he gives is that they leave school so soon to get mission employment that they do not get half an education. They are not diligent while they are at school, as they are certain that some mission will be glad to get them. If this is true, and if it is also true, as Mr. Martin implies in a statement a little further down, that some missions teach converts that all they have to do is a little preaching, for which they will receive a good salary, the Church in India is being built up on very rotten foundations indeed. But Mr. Martin's statements would have been much fairer to missions to whom they are not meant to refer, and their value would have been of a much more determinate nature, if they had been made with reference to some particular mission or missions. If he has evidence enough to support a general charge, he ought not to be afraid to put a specified mission on its defence.

When Mr. Martin complains of want of diligence on the part of Christian pupils in school, he calls attention to a fact of which many teachers have had experience. It is a fact that is much to be regretted, and the more so that it is no doubt closely connected with the apathy of Christian parents in regard to their children's education, of which we hear a good deal in some of the reports before us. In the report of the Basel Mission, for instance, we find it stated that some Christian parents think that the Mission should be wholly responsible for the education of their children; and that it should establish schools where their children would be clothed and fed, and taught up to the highest standards. The Basel Mission seeks to give a sound elementary education to all Christian children, but at the same time the missionaries do their best to impress on the minds of the parents their duty towards their children in the matter of education. They therefore demand the payment of a small fee.

We have mentioned the fact that in many of the stations named in the reports before us the church membership has shown little increase or has even decreased in the year under review. We ought to mention also the more encouraging fact that in most cases the congregational contributions have increased considerably. This is especially noticeable in connection with the congregations of the American Evangelical Lutheran Mission, and the American Arcot Mission. In the case of the Arcot Mission the increase in the contributions has taken place in spite of much distress and want, which prevailed throughout the greater part of the year. The report of the Lutheran Mission contains an appendix giving an account of a jubilee tour undertaken during the year, in the course of which subscriptions to the amount of over Rs. 14,000 were promised towards the erection of a boys' dormitory as a memorial of the Rev. C. F. Heyer, the Founder of the Mission. It is of course unlikely that all the subscriptions will be made good, but at the time when the account of the tour was written a very considerable proportion of the

amount subscribed had actually been paid. In view of such facts it cannot be denied that progress is being made towards self-support in the Native Church.

We regret very much to read of the straitened resources with which the work of the Arcot Mission has had to be carried on during the past year.

THE last Report of the Basel Mission contains a very severe criticism of the working of Christian Family Provident Funds in Southern India. As the Report says, the object of these Funds is an excellent one, but in their practical working they would seem to have very serious drawbacks. The principle on which the Funds in question are worked is that at the death of any member of a Fund all the other members pay a certain contribution, say one rupee, or eight annas each, on behalf of the widow or children of the deceased member. If the number of members is large it is obvious that the calls for contributions will be frequent; and according to the testimony of one missionary the poorer members of the Fund are often unable to meet their obligations. They therefore have recourse to the money-lender, who of course can make his own terms with them. And if his assistance has to be invoked on many occasions it may happen that he and not the surviving relations of a deceased member of the Fund ultimately reaps the chief benefit.

Another very serious objection urged against the working of these Provident Funds is one very similar to the objection urged against the insurance of children's lives in western countries. It is said that the hope of getting a large sum of money at the death of a parent has in many cases the effect of making the family wish for that death. It is not said that anyone has been known to aim directly at bringing about the death of a parent or relation, but it is implied that in many cases the aged and the sick fail to meet with that care and sympathy which they ought to receive. This is indeed a most serious charge; and if there is even a small amount of truth in it, it is high time that those who have the management of these Provident Funds were taking steps to have this objection to the working of the Funds removed.

An objection hardly less serious is that when on the death of any member of a Fund a comparatively large sum becomes payable, the recipients are in many cases incapable of making a good use of the money that comes into their hands. In most cases a large proportion of the money received goes at once in the payment of debts, and very often what is left is employed solely for the purpose of enabling the recipients to live in a better style so long as it lasts. How this objection to the working of Provident Funds is to be got over it is not easy to see; but something will have to be done in the matter if these Funds are not to prove more of a curse than a blessing to those who contribute to them.

It is also urged as an objection to the working of these Funds that they are not on a sound financial basis. It is not stated, and we have no means of knowing, where the defect lies. Undoubtedly, however, there must be something wrong in the constitution of these Funds, if, as is stated in the Basel Mission Report, the family of a member who has contributed for a large number of years receives a much smaller sum than the aggregate of his payments amounts to. The greatest benefits should go as far as possible to the heirs of those who have exercised the greatest amount of self-denial; and though in almost every association of individuals that has for its object the mutual assistance of its members, some of the members are bound to receive assistance out of all proportion to the services actually rendered by them, yet what may be called the element of chance ought to be made as far as possible inoperative.

We hope these remarks will not be taken to indicate our disapproval of Family Provident Funds. The statements upon which they have been based are made in a report which strikes the reader as a true and unexaggerated account of the things with which it deals; and they are of such a serious nature as to demand the immediate attention of all concerned.

We have received the first few numbers of a new missionary periodical called *The Missions of the World.* Judging from these we should say that *The Missions of the World* is likely to have a wide circulation among people who take an interest in missionary enterprise. Among the contents of the May number are articles on Uganda and Lovedale, the Church Missions in the Punjab, the story of the China Inland Mission, and the contrast, due to missions, between the negroes in Hayti and Jamaica. To the April number the Rev. J. M. Russell contributed an article on Indian educational missions. This article has, after revision, been reprinted along with a letter which Mr. Russell some time ago addressed to the editor of the *Free Church Monthly*

Mr. Russell does not attempt to deal with the whole question of missionary education in India: he confines himself to a few points regarding which, after all that has been said on the subject, there still seems to be a good deal of ignorance and misconception. In the first place he reminds his readers that missionary educational institutions in India are practically the only channel whereby, in a regular and systematic way Christian truth may reach the children of non-Christian parents. He next shows that missionary educational institutions, while forming a very important part of the educational system of India, can and do maintain a distinctively missionary character. He is not sure that, even if the educational pressure were so great that no specified time could be allotted to religious instruction, it would not be

the duty of the Churches to retain their hold on the education of the country. But as a matter of fact the Churches have not yet had to face this question. The educational pressure is not so severe as to banish direct religious instruction from the time-table of a missionary school or college. It is one thing, however, as Mr. Russell says, to have a time-table which gives room for religious instruction, and another to have students place themselves under such instruction. Yet this they do in very large numbers, and not altogether from the motives assigned to them by some of those who have criticised Mr. Russell's paper. It is not our present concern, however, to expose the falsehoods that have been told by professing Christians for the purpose of proving the mercenary nature of the motives of those who seek to get an education in a missionary institution.

Mr. Russell deals very briefly with the question, How does Christian education, with express religious instruction, influence the students of missionary colleges? He points out that the influence on all students is not of one kind nor in an equal degree, and that results on a large scale, of such a kind as can be appreciated by those who do not look below the surface of things, are not to be immediately expected. He indicates some of the difficulties experienced and the encouragements received by a teacher in a missionary college; and asks the bazaar preacher not to suppose that he has a monopoly of the annoyances that those who speak to young men have sometimes to put up with. We are not at all surprised when we hear some missionaries complain of the opposition they experience at the hands of educated young men, for there are not very many men in India who possess the qualifications of both head and heart which are necessary for effective work among this class. As Mr. Russell says, all depends on the way young men are dealt with, both within the colleges and outside them; and it may be laid down as a general rule that any man will be exposed to annoyance who attempts to argue on religious matters with those who are intellectually his superiors. The Churches have not yet realised as they need to do that a special agency is required for following up the work that is begun in their colleges and schools. The need for such an agency has often been pointed out by Indian missionaries; and it forms the subject of the letter which Mr. Russell addressed to the editor of the *Free Church Monthly*.

In the concluding paragraph of the paper under review, Mr. Russell calls attention once more to the comparatively small proportion of missionary energy that is devoted to the work of missionary education, and to the almost boundless field that India presents for the exercise of every form of Christian activity.

SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY JOTTINGS.

To the May number of the *Nineteenth Century* Mr. H. P. Dunn contributed a very interesting review of the progress of surgery during the last quarter of a century. The use of antiseptics is of course the distinctive feature of this progress, but the period under review is memorable for such triumphs as the discovery that different forms of paralysis are connected with different parts of the brain, the success with which tumours affecting the spinal cord are treated, the substitution, when the continuity of a nerve has been broken, of the nerve of another person, and the victory over peritonitis. Optical surgery also practically originated within this period, for it is only within the last forty years that any scientific knowledge of the diseases of the eye and any right method of dealing with them have been possessed by surgeons.

PROFESSOR FRANKLAND, writing on sunshine and microbes in the same number of the *Nineteenth Century*, gave some interesting facts. It was found that the sun's rays tend to destroy bacilli in air. The higher the proportion of oxygen in the air, the more lethal are the rays, while sunlight acting on bacilli placed in a vacuum does not affect them. These results were followed by Dr. Geisler's discoveries that when the white sunbeams are decomposed by means of the prism the rays at the red end have little or no effect upon bacilli, whilst those nearer the violet end are deleterious. Electric light compared with sunlight has little influence upon bacilli. Dr. Palermo of Naples has just completed some experiments upon Koch's cholera bacillus, the results of which Professor Frankland thus summarises:—"Thus by exposure to sunshine these disease microbes were not only deprived of their sting, so to speak, but were converted into useful servants in protecting their former victims from the attacks of their still viciously disposed brethren." In other words 'sunned' bacilli serve like vaccination to protect those in whom they live from the disease which if unsunned they would create.

Professor Frankland has himself found that the addition of salt increases the destructive action of sunshine on anthrax spores suspended in water, and that in broth and jelly bacilli exposed to sunlight are killed in a few hours. He showed in 1886 that the water of the Thames and Lea often contained twenty times as many micro-organisms in winter as in summer. Some continental scientists have lately discovered that even between day and night the changes in sunlight considerably affect the numbers of these bacilli in a running stream, though the sun's rays after passing through from 10 to 20 inches of water lose their 'bactericidal capacity'.

AN important collection of biological monographs, entitled *The*

Macleay Memorial Volume, has been published by the Linnean Society of New South Wales as a tribute to the memory of the remarkable man who founded the Society. It has by way of preface a biography of William Macleay by the Secretary of the Society, from which we learn that he was born at Wick in 1820, and after being educated at the Edinburgh Academy emigrated to Australia in 1839. He spent his first fifteen years there as a squatter, and then thirty-five as a politician. Throughout the whole of his public life he was most persistent and enthusiatic in his efforts to promote the cause of biological science at the antipodes. His entomological collection, formed originally in connection with the Entomological Society of New South Wales, developed ultimately into the magnificent Macleay Museum, and after founding the Linnean Society of that colony he did a great deal to arouse the enthusiasm of its members in biological work, by equipping and conducting an expedition to the north-east coast of Australia and New Guinea. He was a most liberal supporter of scientific work, his total benefactions being estimated at £100,000, including a bequest of £12,000 for a chair of bacteriology, and £35,000 for four research fellowships in connection with Sydney University.

The contributions to the volume consist of thirteen papers by members of the Society, dealing with various problems raised by their indigenous fauna and flora. Professor G. B. Howes has drawn attention to the special importance of the first of them, 'On the Blood-Vessels of *Ceratodus*', by Professor Spencer. Of the other papers the most noteworthy are by Professor Haswell, on the Temnocephaleæ, and by Professor Parker and Miss Rich, on the Myology of the New Zealand Sea Crayfish (*Palinurus Edwardsii*).

The relative sensitivity of men and women has been investigated by means of Weber's test by Mr. Francis Galton, who is so well known for his anthropometric work. The test consisted in pressing the points of a pair of compasses against the nape of the neck and across the line of the spine, while the person being experimented on sat with the head bowed forward. It was found that the distance between the points when the person became just conscious that there were two distinct pricks was about half an inch on the average, and that it varied considerably with different persons. There is, therefore, no need for delicacy of measurement as is the case when the experiments are made, as they usually are, on the finger-tips. This method has also the advantage of eliminating the effect of practice, because all are equally unaccustomed to discriminate between pressures on the nape of the neck. The observations were carried on for several months, in order to accumulate a sufficiently large number of results, 932 men and 377 women being tested. The length of the just perceptible interval in the case of the median man was found

to be 13·8 mm., and in the case of the median woman 11·8 mm., the relative sensitivity of the two sexes according to these figures being about 7 to 6.

It was also found that the variability in discriminative power is much greater among women than among men. The just perceptible interval ranged in the case of women from 6·0 mm. to 19·7 mm., and in the case of men from 7·4 mm. to 20·0 mm. The variability among women deduced from all the results is to that among men as 3·70 to 3·25, say as 8 to 7. Mr. Galton rather amusingly suggests that the greater variability among women than among men in this respect corresponds to the way in which they are supposed to vary in respect to morality, quoting Tennyson's lines :—

> " For men at most differ as heaven and earth,
> But women best and worst as heaven and hell."

THE same test has been used by Professor W. O. Krohn to determine the relation of sensation-areas to movement. On applying the test to a man who had had his left forearm encased in a plaster-of-Paris case for three months, he found that on a certain part of the right forearm the points of a pair of compasses had to be only about 20 mm. apart in order to be perceived as two, but that on the corresponding part of the forearm that had been so long immovable the points were felt as one when as much as 55 mm. apart. On another part of this arm he found that even when the points of the compasses were 80 mm. apart they were felt as one, while on the corresponding part of the right arm the points were felt as two when only 17 mm. apart. As the man was practically ambidextrous before meeting with the accident which led to the casing of his arm in plaster-of-Paris, it would appear that the sensitivity of the skin of his left forearm was diminished simply because it was so long immovable. Professor Krohn points out that this has an important bearing on the principle that the localising power is delicate in proportion as the skin covers a movable part of the body.

IN the report of the Sonnblick Observatory for the year 1893 it is stated that the electrical condition of the earth at the summit, which is 10,192 feet high, remains nearly constant during clear days throughout the year, so that owing to its height and configuration it is free from the daily and yearly fluctuations of electricity which are observed on the earth's surface at lower levels. The observations of St. Elmo's Fire show that, when the snow falls in large flakes, positive electricity is almost always developed, but when the snow consists of dust-like particles the electricity developed is negative.

DR. C. T. WILLIAMS, the President of the Royal Meteorological Society,

has compiled a large mass of statistics relating to the treatment of lung diseases by climate. These show very clearly the value of sea-voyages, and in particular they seem to indicate that in cases of cavity in the lung the saline atmosphere of the ocean promotes antiseptic changes, and so encourages the arrest of the disease. He also brings forward strong evidence in favour of the value of rarefied air, as at Davos, St. Moritz, or Denver. " High altitudes win easily in all categories, with their 83 per cent. 'improved', and only 14½ per cent. 'worse'."

THE influence of rarefied air on the respiration and the circulation was recently tested by Dr. Ad. Loewy. He found that a diminution of pressure to about 450 mm. is tolerated very well, and that the lowered oxygen pressure produced either by still greater rarefaction or by the addition of carbonic acid to the air breathed is compensated for by deeper respirations. To determine its effect on the circulation he used the method devised by Professor Zuntz for obtaining the velocity of the blood flow, and he found that, when animals are respiring in air rarefied to about half an atmosphere of pressure, the volume of the blood ejected at each systole of the heart is exactly the same as under normal pressure. With still greater rarefaction the oxygen pressure in the alveoli can still be brought, by deeper respiration, to the level where the hæmoglobin of the blood is saturated, and no distress appears.

A WRITER in the *Modern Medicine and Bacteriological Review* states that too much reliance should not be placed on the boiling of milk for entirely removing germs so that it may be kept for any considerable time before use. Spores of bacilli may still be present, and after some hours these may develop to such an extent as to render the milk acid and unfit for consumption. The suggestion is made that people entrusted with the feeding of infants on cow's milk should be supplied with litmus paper so that they may be able to test it before use.

DURING the month of May English letters have lost two men whose names are well-known to most Indian students, and who have done much, in different ways, for the spread of a knowledge of English literature—the Rev. Dr. Richard Morris and Professor Henry Morley. Dr. Morris will, no doubt, chiefly be remembered by his *Historical Outlines of English Accidence* which was published in 1872, and which was, as the *Academy* says, " the first attempt in England to explain the development of the language on historical and scientific principles." One cannot but ascribe very much of the improvement that has taken place in ordinary school grammars—an improvement at once apparent when the grammars in use now are compared with those of a quarter of a century ago—to the educational works of Dr. Morris. These books,

however, form but a fragment of the work he did. For many years he was a contributor to the Early English Text Society—a society whose work, Dr. Kellner says, has made possible a real study of the history of English. During the latter part of his life Dr. Morris turned his attention to Pali, and for the Pali Text Society he edited several texts. It is interesting to know that this distinguished scholar was in the main self-educated, and that he at no time enjoyed "the advantages of university education or university endowment."

Professor Morley was trained to be a doctor, but after a few years practice he gave up medicine and devoted himself to teaching and literature. He was appointed English Lecturer at King's College in 1856; and afterwards at University College he did much for the systematic study of English language and literature, a study even yet more familiar to Indian than to English undergraduates. His enthusiasm for his subject and his power of sympathising with those he taught made him a great teacher, and many of his students have acknowledged gratefully how much they owed to him both as a Professor and as a man. During the last twenty years of his life the work to which Professor Morley chiefly devoted himself was the popularising of good literature. For Messrs. Routledge he edited the sixty-three volumes, for the most part English classics, known as *Morley's Universal Library;* and for Messrs. Cassell and Co. the two hundred little books known as *Cassell's National Library*. His editing has been accused of being superficial, but there can be no doubt that in assisting to provide so much wholesome literature at a low price he conferred a real boon on the English-reading community. Professor Morley's chief literary works are his Lives of Palissy the Potter and Clement Marot, his *First Sketch of English Literature*, and his book on *English Writers*. The last named work was not completed on its original plan, and a new issue of it was begun in 1887. Of the twenty volumes of which it was to be composed ten only have appeared, bringing the history of English Literature down to the death of Elizabeth.

PROFESSOR C. H. PEARSON, whose death is also announced, was also at one time engaged in teaching at King's College. He was the author of the remarkable work, *National Life and Character*, that excited so much discussion when it appeared last year.

A NEW volume of Indian stories by Rudyard Kipling has just appeared. It is published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., and is called *The Jungle Book*. Mr. Kipling, who is at present in England, is revising for the press a second series of his *Barrack-Room Ballads*.

MR. SWINBURNE'S new book, *Astrophel and other Poems*, has been very

highly praised by the reviewers. A considerable portion of it consists of memorial verses.

THE *Athenæum* states that the Amir of Afghanistan is engaged in writing his autobiography and has already completed fifteen chapters, bringing events up to the close of the Durand Mission. The work is said to throw a curious light on the relations between Abdurrahman and the Indian newspapers at the time of his exile in Russian Turkestan.

IN reviewing *The Flower of Forgiveness*, a volume of short stories by Mrs. Steel, the authoress of *Miss Stuart's Legacy*, the *Athenæum* says that "barring none—save only Mr. Kipling—Mrs. Steel is our best exponent, among novelists, of the complex phases of Anglo-Indian life. Few without being tedious," it continues, "could enter so completely into the core of native thought and feeling, or set a reader's understanding and sympathies so quickly at work." Mrs. Steel was to read a paper at the Annual Meeting of the National Indian Association on 'Pupils and Teachers in the Punjab'.

A COMPLETE edition of Mr. R. L. Stevenson's works is about to be issued. It will include not only the books that have been produced by various publishers in very different forms but also a number of articles and papers that have not hitherto appeared in any collected form. This 'Edinburgh' Edition, for so it is to be named, is to be strictly limited to a thousand copies, and is to be an example of the very best work that Scotland can produce. There is to be very little of the nature of illustration in it, but it is to be printed by Messrs. Constable from a new fount of type on a paper that is being specially made for the purpose. Mr. Stevenson has finished a new novel, which is not, however, to be published for some months. It is to be called *St. Ives*, and relates the adventures of a French naval officer who was taken prisoner during the great French war and was imprisoned in Scotland. He has also written most of *The Lord Justice-Clerk*, a story dealing with Scottish life in the latter half of last century.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE June number of the *Contemporary Review* opens with a short unsigned article on the question of 'European Disarmament'. The writer says that while there has been progress of many kinds during recent years, there has been no progress more unvarying than the progress which the nations of Europe have been making towards national bank-

ruptcy down the fatally facile incline of preparation for war. The present year has witnessed deficits in every budget in Europe—deficits the means of meeting which have not yet in every case been discovered. It is high time, therefore, that action should be taken for the purpose of arresting the increase of expenditure on armaments; and this question is actually being discussed with serious earnestness by more than one of the nations concerned. Last month M. Jules Simon in this Review suggested as an immediate palliative for the terrible evils of the present suicidal competition of armaments a reduction of the duration of military service. The writer of the present article thinks that this proposal is not immediately possible, and that something very much more simple is what is wanted. This, he thinks, is possible. The existing situation, he says, is the result of international anarchy; and to effect any improvement international anarchy must give way to international agreement. To introduce this international agreement, it is necessary to begin at the beginning, to start from things as they are. The writer, therefore, looks with favour on the proposal now being seriously considered in the highest quarters—the promotion of an international understanding that, until the close of the present century, no Power will increase the sum of money annually devoted to military and naval expenditure beyond the maximum war budget of the current year. But what prospect is there, he asks, of securing an international recognition of this 'law of the maximum'? All depends on France. For reasons which we cannot specify the writer thinks that France would hail the proposal with enthusiasm. But then comes the question, Upon whom falls the responsibility of taking the initiative? There are three Powers, says the writer, to whom this responsibility belongs. These are the Pope, the Tsar, and the democracy of Great Britain. There is every reason to believe, the writer adds, that these Powers can be depended upon to discharge their respective obligations.

The second article is a criticism of Kidd's *Social Evolution* by Lord Farrer. The general opinion of this work entertained by Lord Farrer is very much that which has been expressed in other reviews which we have seen. He says that it is a valuable and interesting book—not so much because the system of philosophy which the author thinks he has discovered is logical or complete, or even because it brings to light anything really new, but because it makes some valuable suggestions concerning current problems, and provokes thought on important subjects. The essential condition of human progress is in Mr. Kidd's opinion the struggle for existence; and this being so he holds that there is no rational sanction for the progress of mankind. The function of reason is to assert the claims of the individual; and the interest of the individual is always at variance with the conditions which are necessary for the existence and progress of the society of which he is a member. But religious beliefs have always existed and will continue to exist; and it is the function of these, which are supra-rational or extra-rational, to maintain the predominance of the social organism. Mr. Kidd illustrates his theory by giving a hasty sketch of Western civilisation, or more accurately, Lord Farrer says, he uses it for the purpose of explaining the development of England in the last two centuries.

Lord Farrer declines to accept Mr. Kidd's doctrine that the history of mankind is the history of the struggle of man acting under religious influences against his own reason. He holds that the evidence brought forward in support of it is meagre in the extreme, and vitiated by gross exaggeration. On many points connected with the development of Christianity and its effect on Western civilisation he holds that the facts are altogether opposed to Mr. Kidd's doctrine. But though he is very critical in regard to Mr. Kidd's theories, he expresses his gratitude for the book as a whole. His estimate of its value is summed up in the following words:—

"If his (Mr. Kidd's) theories are at fault—if it is not true that reason and religion are necessarily at war, or that the function of reason is essentially selfish and materialistic, whilst the function of religion is to further the progress of society; if it is false that the interests of the social organism are at variance with the interests of the men and women who compose it; if, in short, Mr. Kidd has not solved the puzzle of human existence; let us thankfully acknowledgo that he has touched subjects of the deepest interest, and has touched them in an interesting way; that he has called fresh attention to the influence which different religions, and especially the Christian religion, have had on the development of mankind; that he has stimulated inquiry in this fruitful field of research; that he has emphasised the value of character as compared with intellect, and the importance to character of man's relation to the Inscrutable and the Unknown; and finally, that he has given us a view of the progress and aims of modern society, which, if not as complete as he supposes, contains elements which are true and important, and which are all the more valuable because his views are animated by a spirit of humanity and reconciliation."

In an article on 'Market Gambling' Mr. W. E. Bear calls attention to a feature of modern commerce which is a disgrace to civilised society. This is the system of 'option' or 'future' trading which in comparatively recent years has become rampant in America and in Liverpool, and has made some headway in London and two or three Continental towns. We cannot even briefly summarise the details of this system; but we may say that it is a kind of trade in which the seller does not possess, or expect to possess, what he sells, and the buyer does not intend to receive what he nominally purchases. It is a special feature of the grain trade; and high authorities have estimated that the quantity of wheat nominally sold in America in a year is about ninety times the quantity produced. The system has been thoroughly exposed by Mr. C. W. Smith, formerly a Liverpool produce broker, who believes it to be a principal cause of the existing depression in agriculture and commerce. Mr. Smith was invited to give evidence upon the subject before the Royal Commission on Agriculture; and the members of the Commission were so impressed with what he said that there is reason to hope that they will recommend a Parliamentary inquiry into the subject.

Mr. Vernon Bartlet contributes a long and important article on 'The Development of the Historic Episcopate'. The air, he says, is full of schemes of Christian re-union; and one of the bases on which it has been proposed to unite the churches is the general acceptance of 'the Historic Episcopate', locally adapted in the methods of its administration. As a necessary preliminary to any discussion of the claims of the form of Episcopate thus signified, Mr. Bartlet proceeds to examine its *origins*. With this aim he traces the development of the Christian Church from the Jewish Theocracy. His conclusion is that we cannot accept Bishop Lightfoot's theory that it was under the influence or sanction of surviving Apostles that the monarchical episcopate, as a distinct order, emerged in Asia Minor. The monarchical bishop, he holds, emerged gradually and without clear trace in the records: first *de facto, as primus inter pares*; then *de jure*, as constituting an order by himself. With Lightfoot he holds that the Episcopate proper was evolved out of the Presbyterate. The Episcopate, thus evolved, is the only form of Episcopate that can lay full claim to the title 'historic'. And even it cannot claim strict apostolic sanction, being an institution of the sub-apostolic rather than of the apostolic age.

"The curse of slavery still rests upon the Southern States of America." Such is the opening sentence of an article by Mr. C. F. Aked on 'The Race Problem in America'. And a little further down we find this statement: "Slavery degraded the negro, cramped his mind, and brutalised his spirit; but slavery degraded the white man more." The southern white man, says Mr. Aked, has yet to be emancipated from his bondage to a narrow caste-spirit, an insolent pride of colour, a callous indifference to mortal suffering, and

even a ferocious delight in its infliction. The moral and material progress of the coloured population since the emancipation has been very marvellous, but hardly less striking, according to Mr. Aked, has been the progress made by the white men of the once rebellious States in the task of undoing the work of emancipation and reducing the negro to subjection and servitude again. Mr. Aked first directs attention to some of the ways in which this result has been brought about through legislation, and then goes on to give illustrations of some of the ghastly outrages that are perpetrated upon negroes without the sanction of the law. Within the last few years more than 1000 men and women have been lynched in the United States. Mob violence is spreading, and it is not confined to the territory south of Mason and Dixon's line.

Mr. Andrew Lang writes on the recently published Life of Marlborough by Lord Wolseley. He does not attempt to deal with the work from a military point of view, but concerns himself with the character and political conduct of Marlborough. He begins by stating that his sentiments, his tastes, his predilections are not strongly Orange, nor Protestant, nor Hanoverian. Lord Wolseley's sentiments and predilections are on the other side; and we should naturally expect, therefore, that on many points concerning Marlborough Mr. Lang and he would think differently. Yet only on one point does Lord Wolseley's critic find serious fault with him. This is in regard to his treatment of Marlborough's behaviour towards King James. In regard to Marlborough's second treason Mr. Lang says that Lord Wolseley speaks with a candour not common in biographers. The two volumes of the work that have appeared carry the life of Marlborough to the accession of Queen Anne. Mr. Lang thinks it rather a pity that Lord Wolseley should have spent so much time over this part of Marlborough's life, but he would not wish these early volumes shorter. The book, he says, is never for a moment dull.

Mr. T. M. Wilson writes on 'The Gothenburg System in Norway and its Application to England'. He says that on account of the amount of error and misconception which prevails in England as to the exact aims and results of the system in Norway, the scheme advocated by the Bishop of Chester for carrying out in England the leading principles of the system, has not received the attention and adherence which it deserves. He therefore briefly explains the working of the system in Scandinavia, and indicates the principal results that have followed from its adoption. He believes that similar good results would follow from the adoption of the system in a somewhat modified form in England, and that the system is preferable to any form of prohibition that has been proposed. His article is certainly deserving of careful attention.

Mr. H. R. Haweis contributes a very appreciative article on Frederick Denison Maurice—"the last of the prophets," and "the most saintly personality of the nineteenth century, Newman, Pusey, and Keble not excepted." Mr. M. G. Mulhall deals with the main arguments brought forward in favour of bimetallism at the meeting held at the Mansion House on the 2nd of May last; and concludes that Great Britain is not likely to pay much heed to the movement of bimetallism. Mr. W. H. Massingham discusses the present political situation in England; Mr. H. W. Wolf writes on 'Old-Age Pensions in Practice'; and Mr. H. F. B. Lynch contributes the first of a series of articles on 'The Armenian Question'.

In the *Nineteenth Century* for June the article that will be read with most interest in India is that entitled 'India—the Political Outlook', by General Sir George Chesney, M. P. The writer begins by alluding to the mysterious marking of trees at present going on in the northern part of the Province of Bengal. The incident may have no political significance; but at least it is fitted to bring home to people in England the need for extreme caution in dealing with the

delicate and complex conditions under which the Government of India is carried on. In regard to the military position and the assumed danger of another military outbreak, the writer sees no immediate cause for alarm. The position now is vastly different from what it was at the outbreak of the Mutiny. The British troops in India have been considerably increased, and hold all the fortified places; the artillery is wholly British, save a few mountain batteries; while the native army has been cut down by more than one half, and contains no one largely preponderating element. The danger to be guarded against is rather of a civil than of a military character—the danger lest, through rash interference with their customs and disregard of their interests, the peoples of India should become alienated from our rule.

Signs are not wanting at the present time that an uneasy state of feeling is arising among the most important class—the agricultural community—who compose the vast majority of the people and whose claims and interests should be our first consideration. Growing indebtedness to the professional trader and money-lender is leading to a wholesale alienation of land from its peasant proprietors. For this process of alienation our system of tribunals is largely responsible. With its highly technical system of pleading and the facilities it offers for appeal, it lends itself to the passion for litigation characteristic of the Indian of all classes, and a state of things has arisen in which the ownership of land is rapidly passing from the peasantry to a rapacious money-lending class. The importance of action in this matter cannot be over-estimated. Something has been done in special districts. But no measure of reform will serve to cure the evil short of the complete abolition of the sale of land for debt, to which might be added the prohibition of the agency of professional pleaders, in at any rate the lower courts. Another cause of distress, giving rise to grave apprehension, is the increasing tendency to over-population of the agricultural classes in many parts of the country. In some of the most fertile and longest settled districts the population is already more dense than in any other part of the world, except parts of China. The remedy is not easy to find, but the case requires to be stated as indicating the difficult position of the Government, which has to deal with problems so weighty and yet so delicate.

But apart from the people of India properly so-called there exists in the country a class—the product of our system of English education—which is distinctly hostile to our rule. This is the class which controls the native press, and though small in numbers, its influence ought not to be under-rated as a source of widespread disaffection. The tone of the native press, according to Sir George Chesney, is almost uniformly seditious, or at least unfriendly to the Government. Often enough, as in the case of the Opium Commission or the more recent episode of the cotton duties, we gave a fair handle for its misrepresentations. But, indeed, it does not require such blunders to call forth its attacks. Every action, every motive of the Government is misrepresented and reviled. Meanwhile the attitude of the Government is one of assumed indifference. Yet really it cannot afford to be inactive in the matter. However contemptible the vernacular papers may be individually, they are the only form of newspaper that the people of the country ever see, and cannot be without effect in unsettling confidence in the Government. The remedy, says Sir George Chesney, is easy. The Press Act of 1878 was an effective check upon the evil; all that is wanted is that it should be re-enacted.

The National Congress is another centre of disaffection, though perhaps its proceedings should be described as absurd rather than disloyal. It is spoken of by Sir George Chesney as composed of men whose political aspirations do not go beyond the attainment of their own immediate aims and objects—more Government appointments for themselves, and the substitution of natives for English officials in all the higher administrative posts. On this point—that of the admission

of natives to the higher administrative offices—Sir George Chesney is in full sympathy with the steps that have been taken in recent years to satisfy the aspiration of the natives of the country. But he points out that the change is so far an experiment. It has yet to be proved whether the natives who are rapidly replacing English magistrates will be found in the hour of trial to possess those qualities of judgment, integrity, and courage on which the maintenance of peace and contentment throughout the country depends. Considerations of this kind, however, find no place in the programme of the National Congress. For the rest, the holders of these Congresses are a set of "inept, blundering, political charlatans." They have never made one useful or practical suggestion, but their proceedings, when not merely silly, are undoubtedly mischievous—adding as they do to the general feeling of unrest now becoming apparent in various parts of the country.

Sir George Chesney does not despair of a great and prosperous future for the people of India under their English rulers. But they must be wisely governed and not made the subject of rash experiments. Caution and forbearance are necessary above all things in dealing with the customs and institutions of a people who, if easily governed, are easily aroused; and who are separated in thought and feeling so widely from ourselves. As for those who assume that political institutions of the modern British type are the natural and proper terminus of national development in every clime and nation, it may be useful to remind them that these institutions are of such recent growth as to be historically a mere incident of the national life, and that they already show signs of giving place to some new development. At any rate free institutions did not come till the nation was fit to receive them; and to attempt to apply them to India in its present condition would be to risk destruction of the comparative civilization which it now enjoys.

'A Recent Run to the East' is a pleasant account by Lord Brassey of his recent visit to India, as Chairman of the Opium Commission. It is mainly descriptive, but does not exclude passages of political reflection. Thus Lord Brassey writes:—

"We heard much serious talk at Calcutta of the general unrest which is observable throughout the country. Any government by conquerors differing in race, language, faith, and social customs from the people under their rule must necessarily be more or less unsympathetic. The sharp lessons of the Mutiny have faded from the memories of the present generation. Still less is there any recollection or even tradition of the misgovernment which prevailed under the native rulers whom we have displaced. Our difficulties in India can never be altogether overcome. They have been intensified in later years by the spread of education, and by the ever-increasing number of natives of Bengal who have shown an extraordinary aptitude for acquiring that kind of knowledge which secures success in competitive examinations. The sole aim of every educated native is to obtain, first, employment, and then promotion in the Government service. Candidates are more numerous than places, and the rejected and disappointed are busy in fostering discontent. England should maintain in India a rule of unfaltering justice, supported, and that not inadequately, by a powerful army of British troops, with such auxiliaries as can be trusted with the confidence we give to our Sikhs and Goorkhas."

'Noticeable Books' is a series of seven short reviews. Earl Cowper reviews Daniell's *Life of Bishop Wilberforce;* Professor Max Muller, the works of African Spir, an unknown German philospher; Sir Alfred Lyall, Montferrat's *Ten Years of Armed Peace between France and England* (1783-1793); Mr. W. S. Lilly, Wilfred Ward's *Witnesses to the Unseen;* Mr. Richard le Gallienne, the poetry of John Davidson; Mr. Frederic Harrison, *The History of Trade Unionism,* by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb; and the Editor, *A Study in Colour,* by Alice Spinner. Other contributions are 'Checks on Democracy in America', by George Washburn Smalley; 'The Queen and Lord Palmerston', by the Hon. Reginald B. Brett; 'Some Great Churches of France—Vézelay', by Mr. Walter Pater; 'Love', by Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., M.P.; and

'The Proposed Nile Reservoir', being two papers, one by Professor Mahaffy, entitled 'The Devastation of Nubia', and the other by Mr. Frank Dillon, entitled 'The Submergence of Philæ'.

PERHAPS the first article in the *Fortnightly* to which one in India turns is that upon 'The Disaffection in Behar', by Mr. D. N. Reid. The ryots of Behar are, we are told, almost completely under the dominion of the money-lender. So great are their hardships that every year some of the ryots are going over to Nepal, preferring any change to their present position. One grievance arises out of this. They feel that England has never taken any effective step to rid them of the thraldom under which they suffer. Another sore point is the way in which their best land is given up to the cultivation of poppy, indigo, tobacco, and sugar-cane. More attention should be given to the raising of grains and to the development of fodder farms and dairies. This would mean an improvement in the condition of the people. If they saw that Government was anxious to rid them of the exactions of the money-lender and to help them in the establishment of greater grain culture, there would be none of the disaffection which is at present seen.

Mr. J. G. Frazer, the well-known author of the *Golden Bough,* has a very appreciative article on the late Prof. Robertson Smith. The chief point that he brings out is the debt under which all are laid by the Professor's investigations into comparative religion, and especially into Semitic beliefs and customs. Here he was able to show how beliefs which were thought to be peculiarly Christian were, in many cases, foreshadowed, even if somewhat dimly, amongst those who are generally included under the term 'heathen'. Amongst all his work he was ever true to fact and to human nature, and never led away by a theory which had no basis, however brilliant it might appear. This is the highest praise that can be bestowed on one who worked among subjects where the most impossible is often regarded as of the highest verity.

Writing on 'The Mechanism of Thought' Mr. A. Binet has before him the thesis that thought is liable to error by its very constitution. Our consciousness is not a state on which we can put unlimited trust. It is really a form of reasoning. For thought depends upon the images of sensation, and is stimulated by them. Our reasoning, therefore, on such data may be wrong. Mr. Binet's conclusions are arrived at by experiments on hysterical patients which are of the most interesting character, though, unfortunately, too minute to detail here.

Mr. Wallace writing on 'The Future of Parties' inclines to the opinion that the French system of groups is gaining hold, and has a pretty severe denunciation of Socialism. The Prince of Monaco shows the dangers of the proposed Channel Bridge. Mr. Roberts, who recently attacked the stamp mania now turns his bolts against the craze of pottery-collecting. Three artistic articles and two social ones complete a somewhat weak number.

THE *New Review* opens with an important article on 'Municipal Government: Past, Present, and Future', by Mr. Chamberlain, written as an introduction to a series of articles on the principal municipalities in England, which are to appear in future issues of the Review. Mr. Chamberlain begins by dwelling on the rapid growth and increasing importance of municipal institutions, pointing out that they really had their origin no earlier than 1835, when the Municipal Reform Act was passed as the result of the exposure of the gross abuses which prevailed among the privileged corporations established under Royal Charters. This Act did little to extend the powers of the corporations, but it established a true popular constituency and an administration strictly responsible to it, and so laid a solid foundation for the future development of their functions and authority.

After indicating how varied are the duties and privileges of a municipal corporation, Mr. Chamberlain goes on to examine why it is that the municipal government of the great cities of the United States, unlike

that of English cities, is lamentably ineffective, extravagant, and corrupt, and finds in this striking fact a proof that the virtue of local self-government depends less on the principle than on the method and spirit of its application. The cardinal evils of the municipal administration in America are incompetence and lack of personal responsibility, and their cause is evidently to be found in the practice which prevails there of distributing temporary municipal appointments as the result of political fidelity. It is of vital importance for English corporations to maintain the high character, independence, and impartiality of their permanent officials, and at the same time not to yield to the danger of a too great extension of officialism. That this is a possible danger is seen when we consider how large the population under the government of one corporation often is. In a well-ordered municipality the unpaid members ought to take an active personal part in the work, and ought to be in close relations with their constituents, and this is hardly possible if the area of responsibility is greatly enlarged.

Another danger to be guarded against in the future of municipal institutions is the tendency to extend their functions beyond those operations which they are clearly better able to perform than private individuals. This tendency is to be seen, for instance, in the proposal to establish municipal workshops, and in the recent action of the London County Council in deciding to become its own contractor and builder. Such undertakings enormously increase the extent of the labour cast upon the members, making it impossible for them to give that personal and particular attention to details which is so essential; and sensibly increase the cost of municipal work, proportionately diminishing its power for good.

Madame Olga Novikoff, better known as O. K., gives some interesting reminiscences of Kinglake. When her book on Russia and England appeared it was, of course, bitterly attacked by the Jingoes, which vexed Kinglake so much, for he had by this time become one of her friends, that he wrote a paper on the Eastern Question in the *Quarterly Review*, which was simply a glowing panegyric of her work. She says that Kinglake's *magnum opus*, the labour of twenty-six years, was in reality nothing but a token of gratitude to Lord Raglan.

"Being a civilian, Kinglake, when expressing a wish to accompany the expedition to the Crimea, met with great opposition from the military authorities, in spite of which, however, Lord Raglan took him there. In return for this friendly act, Kinglake determined to study the art of war and to write Lord Raglan's history. When this was brought down to the time of his friend's death, Kinglake considered his work completed."

'The Development of Mountain Climbing' is sketched by Mr. W. M. Conway from the year 1739, when the first snow mountain—the Titlis—was climbed, up to 1892, when Mr. Conway himself, along with the Hon. C. G. Bruce climbed to the summit of Pioneer Peak, the height of which is between 22,600 and 23,000 feet. They also traversed the three chief glaciers of the Karakoram range, and made the first passage of the Hispar Pass, the longest glacier pass in the world. Mr. Conway concludes by expressing the hope that Englishmen resident in India will make the mountains of Asia a subject of exploration and study, as he is sure they would have done long ago but for the attractions of sport in the lower ranges. As marker and ibex become rarer, he feels confident that the great mountains of Tibet and Chinese Turkestan will assert their charm.

A second article on 'Secrets from the Court of Spain' is given this month, containing a great deal of backstairs gossip regarding the childhood of Queen Isabella. Madame Adam, the Rev. H. Adler, and others take part in a sort of symposium on the subject of teaching boys and girls physiology as a preventive of vice. Mr. J. Keir Hardie states 'The case for an Independent Labour Party', and the Hon. Mrs. Forbes contributes a most absurd article on palmistry.